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## NOTES ON THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CUSTOMS OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA, AND CROW INDIANS

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

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# SOCIAL LIFE OF THE MANDAN.

## Clan System.

The study of ancient Mandan society is rendered unusually difficult through the almost complete extinction of the tribe. There are probably not more than half a dozen full-blood Mandan living on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota. Though the census of 1910 sets their number at 197, this is given on the basis of the native way of tracing descent so as to include all those whose mothers only were Mandan or were according to the matrilineal principle of descent reckoned as Mandan. Living for a long period in close contact with the more numerous Hidatsa, with whom intermarriage has taken place to a considerable extent, the younger Mandan so-called hardly ever speak Mandan as fluently or correctly as Hidatsa.[1]

Under these circumstances the question naturally arises over and over again whether a given feature common to Mandan and Hidatsa culture is not an Hidatsa trait shared by the Mandan only since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. This naturally complicates the sufficiently difficult question as to the relative contributions of the two tribes to their common cultural stock. On this subject widely varying views have been held. Thus, Morgan, rather cavalierly assumed that agriculture and the earth-lodge were brought into the region by the Hidatsa and borrowed by the Mandan,[2] while Matthews has expressed the opposite opinion.[3]

Since in culture the Hidatsa differ from the Crow far more than the affinity of the two languages and hence presumable recency of their separation would lead us to expect, it seems natural to refer such divergence as exists to Mandan influence on the Hidatsa. This interpretation would lead to thoroughly satisfactory results if we could be sure that recently collected Mandan data indicating cultural identity with the Hidatsa reflect ancient Mandan conditions. Unfortunately, we are frequently without the means of checking our information on account of the inadequacy of the early accounts.

A point of great importance regarding the Mandan is their local and linguistic differentiation. Whatever may be the fact as to the nine villages they are said to have inhabited about the Heart River confluence in 1750,[4]

[1] It may be noted in this connection that these languages, though both of the Siouan stock, are only remotely related.

[2] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

[3] Matthews, 37f.

[4] Handbook of American Indians, I, 797.

or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū′pta (Ruhptare) and Mį′tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū′pta dialect was spoken.

It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū′pta and Mį′tutąk there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that the Mandan called themselves "Nū′mangkā′ke" (*nū′makā′ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mį′tutąk and Nū′pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′rehe nā′mini) and Four-clans (nū′makā′ki ō′re tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other.

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names.

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan: —

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi′ 'kina
tamī′sik
nū′pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si′ pucka nū′mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nū′mak, Young white-headed Eagle [1]
mánakactɔ̀k nū′mak, People all in a bunch [2]
xō′xixā' ka nū′mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v, 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Madhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

In this list it will be noted that the third name in the first moiety coincides with that of the Nū′pta village and dialectic division. Black-chest, of the same moiety, substituted the ma′nakactə̄k for the nū′pta, and Turtle-woman, likewise a Three-clan, gave the tamī′kɛxik in the same place. This name suspiciously resembles another, tamī′kaxik, Bad Packstrap, which the same authority gave as an ancient designation of the maxi′ʻkina people, who were so named because they used poor string to tie with. Both Black-chest and Turtle-woman regarded the tamī′sik as equivalent to the Hidatsa mɛ′ʻ tsirō′ʻke (Knife) clan. There is no suggestion that this was meant to interpret the meaning of the name, and Turtle-woman said that the tamī′sik were Wolf people. This is probably merely a symbolic reference since the words for "wolf" are quite different in Maximilian's vocabularies. As regards the constitution of the Four-clan moiety, Turtle-woman and Two-chiefs are in perfect agreement.

Calf-woman said that there were eleven clans grouped in moieties but made no attempt to classify the ten names she actually supplied. Like Maximilian, she regarded all the clans as connected with different villages; accordingly, it is not surprising that she should have included nū′pta in her list. On the other hand, several others are omitted in her enumeration, which follows: —

si′ pucka
xtaxta′ nū′ma ᵃkɛ
mī′ti ā′ki, Village above
maxáhe
tamī′sik
ō′rɛʻ ʻkū′pa, Seven-different-kinds
mā′ak ī′xtit mī′ti, Hilltop village
mī′tixā′rɛ, Scattered village
mī′ʻtik ɛ′exicot nū′makā′ʻki, White-bellied mouse people
nūptarɛ

Three names not recorded by me at all are given by Mr. Curtis,— the masē′ (kshuk), Red Butte; the matēk, Badger; and the madhadhacu, Charcoal. Of these the Badger people are also mentioned by Maximilian, but his Bear and Cactus villages seem to have no equivalents in either Mr. Curtis's or my own lists. Morgan's [1] list of seven clans includes the Prairie-chickens, Maximilian's Bear and Calf-woman's Village-above people,— also a Wolf (Horata), Good Knife (Tanatsuka), Eagle (Kitanemake), and Flathead (Estapa) clan.

[1] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamí'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

Calf-woman's ō'rɛ' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe.

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood.

## Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants

[1] Maximilian, II, 132, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

through females, all these relatives being classed with the father's sister regardless of generation.[1] The question arises whether this trait was borrowed by the Mandan, possibly since their practical absorption in the neighboring tribe. Another peculiarity not indicated by Morgan in his discussion of the Mandan system, though emphasized in his treatment of the Hidatsa and Crow terminologies, is the classification of the maternal uncle with the elder brother. In Mandan this is optional and there is an alternative specific designation for the mother's brother, while Crow and Hidatsa lack any separate word for this relative. From the great rarity of this feature and the simultaneous use of a distinct word for the mother's brother, which moreover is the only designation given by Maximilian and Morgan, I infer that the Mandan borrowed from the Hidatsa the classification of the uncle with the elder brother. This seems to me the more probable because according to the more trustworthy of my informants the sister's son is not addressed as "younger brother" but only by a distinct term correlative with that for mother's brother. But the Hidatsa mode of classifying the maternal uncle is of a piece with the Hidatsa designation of the female descendants of the paternal aunt, i. e., in both cases the same principle of emphasizing clan affiliation to the extent of disregarding generation finds expression. It is, therefore, likely that both features were borrowed by the Mandan.

With the aid of two informants, Two-chiefs and Calf-woman, I secured the following imperfect list of kinship terms.

tatɛ′ (vocative only). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

tatɛ′xihe, tatɛ′xis (voc.). Father's sister's husband, husband's father, grandfather, greatgrandfather.

mā′ats, tatɛ′ena (non-voc.). Father, father's brother, father's sister's son.

mā′txis (non-voc.). Father's sister's husband, grandfather.

tà tɛrité (voc.). My fathers, i. e., my father's fellow-clansmen.

nō′atō'oc (non-voc.). Father's clansman (man speaking).

nō′atōre (non-voc.). Father's clansman (woman speaking).

ptū minikɛ′ (voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, etc., *ad infinitum*. Non-voc. form: ptū′minikse'ena.

naɛ′ (voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

nā′xic, nā'xihɛ′ (voc.). Grandmother, husband's mother.

mihu′xis (non-voc.). Grandmother.

[1] Morgan's schedules regarding the descendants of the father's sister are blank for the Mandan. (a), 322–330.

ō′mihū‘ruc (non-voc.). Mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife.

tàwaratōrɛ′ (voc.). Mother's brother (see p. 12 and below). Non-voc. form: tà waratōsɛ′ ena.

ptā′rumaks. Mother's brother (w. sp.).[1]

mū‘ ukā (voc., m. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, father's sister's son's son older than ego, father's brother's son older than ego, mother's sister's son older than ego. Non-voc. form: mū‘ ukasɛ′ ena.

micų ka′. My younger brother (m. sp.), elder or younger brother (w. sp.); father's sister's son's son, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.

ptamihɛ′ (m. sp.). Elder or younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, brother-in-law's wife.

mīrukɛ′ (w. sp.). Elder sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

ptą‘ ka′ (w. sp.). Younger sister, father's sister's son's daughter, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.

minikɛ′ (voc.). Son (m. sp., w. sp.), brother's son (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's son (w. sp.), mother's brother's son. Non-voc. form: mini′ks.

kunika′ (voc.). Son, grandson.

minū′hakɛ‘ (voc.). Daughter, brother's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), mother's brother's daughter, sister's daughter (w. sp.). Non-voc. form: minū′haks.

ptū‘haxka′ (m. sp.). Sister's son, sister's daughter.

ptawį′ haka. Grandchild, son's wife, grandson's wife.

màratō ka′ (voc.). Husband, wife. Non-voc. form: mà ratōka′sɛ‘ na.

mī′morus (non-voc.). Husband. kō′worus, her husband.

nokā ka′ (voc.). Wife, husband.[2]

mū′us (non-voc.). My wife, k‘u′us; k‘u′uhe, his wife.

ɛ′ ecehak (voc.). Husband's brother.

nisi′kɛ. Husband's brother, kocu′ka, (probably) her husband's brother. This last may simply mean "his brother."

mō‘ wa ‘kihɛ′. Wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.).

ptunɛ′. Brother's wife (w. sp.), husband's sister.

nō′hakamihɛ. Brother's wife.

mū′ uhō‘rakɛ (m. sp.). My brother's wife.

p‘t‘ ū′te, p ‘tūts. Daughter's husband.

[1] This word was given only by Calf-woman, who considered mū′uka as the corresponding male term.

[2] One informant gave màratōkā for husband, and nokākā for wife, the other reversed these interpretations, probably there are two words both designating the spouse regardless of sex.

nō′hakàs. Daughter's husband.
pta +i′ maratokās. My wife's father.
ptù hiní ks. My wife's mother, my wife's mother's sister.

It will be noted that beyond the second ascending and the second descending generations no relatives are designated by special terms, lineal and collateral ancestors being classed with grandparents and descendants with grandchildren, regardless of male or female lines. This fact is borne out in detail by Morgan's schedules. According to these, it would appear that no distinction was drawn between the father's father's and the mother's mother's sister, nor between the father's father's and the mother's mother's brother. On the latter point I unfortunately failed to get data, which would have been of interest in comparison with the Hidatsa usage of classing the maternal grandmother's brother with the elder brother. According to Morgan the word for grandchild was also applied to the sister's grandchild (w. sp.), brother's grandchild (m. or w. sp.), and the sister's son's wife (m. sp.).

With the father Morgan, doubtless correctly, classes the mother's sister's husband and the stepfather. His identification of the father's sister with the mother in female parlance, however, seems doubtful since both my informants were women but gave a single word for the paternal aunt, corresponding to one of Morgan's terms for male usage. A second word given by Morgan for the father's sister (m. sp.) *mā-sá-we*, is not Mandan at all but unmistakably the Hidatsa *bacā′wi*, which is used by both sexes. On the other hand, Morgan has only the equivalent of *tà waratore′* for the maternal uncle, while I also obtained a distinct word for women's use as well as the classification with the elder brother (by men only?).

Except for the applications already mentioned, my connotations for the elder brother term closely coincide with Morgan's, which is also essentially true of the younger brother category. The essential point here is that women have a single term for elder and younger brother coinciding with the men's word for younger brother, the men having an additional term for the elder brother.

In the designation of sisters there is only partial parallelism. To be sure, the women (i. e., members of the sex of the person designated) have two distinct words for elder and younger sister, while the men have only one. The men's generic term, however, does not coincide with either of the women's words so that there are not two words but three to be reckoned with. Here Morgan agrees as regards the men's word, but differs in ascribing a single generic term to the women. Analogy, not only with the brother terms but also with the usage of other Siouan tribes, such as the Winnebago, strongly suggests that Morgan is in error.

My list contains two words for son without clear differentiation. Morgan practically restricts *minike′* to male and *kunika′* entirely to female speech. The latter word is also translated by him to cover the brother's son, sister's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's sister's son's son and mother's sister's daughter's son,—all with a woman speaking. He interprets *minike′* to cover the son, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, mother's son's son and stepson in male speech, and the stepson and father's brother's daughter's son in female speech. The two last-mentioned meanings are not very convincing; more particularly, the father's brother's daughter being classed with the sister, her son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a "son" for women according to the usual classificatory rules, and it is not at all clear why this particular "son" should be distinguished from others by substituting a word ordinarily confined to male usage. It is further strange that a woman should

use a single word for brother's and sister's son. On the other hand, my own list of meanings for *minikɛ'* is rendered somewhat doubtful by extending the word to the brother's son of both men and women. A similar feature of the daughter category, however, viz., the classing of the man's brother's daughter with the woman's, is supported by Morgan's as well as my own informants.

One of my words for husband, *mī' morus*, is approached by Morgan's *me-mer-ul*, while his *moo-hul* and his *moo-ha* for wife and brother's wife are at least of the same stem as my *mū'us* and *mu'uhō'akɛ* (m. sp.). I did not get the words by which the wife's and the husband's fathers and mothers address each other, but analogy with other Siouan systems supports Morgan's statement that there are distinct terms, which he gives as *kote'-he-a* for the father-in-law and *me-ho-he-a* for the mother-in-law. My list also lacks a word for wife's sister, which Morgan gives as *noo-ko-ho-mus*.

Instead of *koo-too'-min-ik* I have *ptunɛ'* for brother's wife (w. sp.); Morgan's informants, consistently enough, included under his term the father's brother's son's and the mother's sister's son's wife. In my list the husband's sister is put into this category.

To my *p't'ū'te* for daughter's husband clearly corresponds Morgan's *p'too'-ta*, brother's daughter's husband (m. sp.), which indicates that his *ko-too'-te* is merely a form of the same stem. He gives many connotations for this word, none of which (except son-in-law) is given in my series. Thus, Morgan, translates it also "husband's father" and "husband's mother" and reciprocally "daughter-in-law" (m. sp. and w. sp.), but here judging from analogy, he is almost certainly wrong, the latter relative being classed with the grandchild, the parents-in-law with the grandparents, as my list indicates. Consistently with his classification of the brother's with the sister's daughter (w. sp.) and with the customary classificatory extensions, Morgan further lists under the same caption the brother's son's wife, brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.), sister's son's wife (w. sp.) and sister's daughter's husband (w. sp.). Of these meanings only those applied to men are compatible with my data.

My *mō' wa'k i kɛ'*, wife's brother, sister's husband (m. sp.) is phonetically the equivalent of Morgan's *wo-wā' ke-a* and *wo-wā-ke*. He gives various additional meanings, viz., sister's husband (w. sp.), husband's brother, sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.), father's brother's daughter's and mother's sister's daughter's husband. The two last-mentioned meanings follow of course from the meaning "sister's husband." That a woman should call the sister's husband by the same term applied by a man to his brother-in-law, seems rather improbable, but unfortunately I did not get evidence on this point. On the other hand, I have two distinct terms for the husband's brother, so that in this respect Morgan's data seem inaccurate. Altogether it is regrettable that the terms of affinity are involved in so much doubt.

## Social Customs.

On this subject I only collected a few items, some of which, however, are of some comparative interest.

As among the Hidatsa and Crow, there was a joking-relationship, which obtained among the sons and daughters of men belonging to the same clan. These relatives, if such they may be styled, were called *i'irusit*.

Regarding cross-cousin marriage, Two-chiefs said that it was permissible for a man to marry the daughter of a mother's clansman but not the daughter of a mother's own brother. On the other hand, Turtle-woman declared that it was proper for a girl to marry her father's sister's son, and my Hidatsa interpreter explained that this was a point in which Mandan and Hidatsa practices diverged.

Not only the wife's mother but also the mother-in-law's sisters and mother avoided the husband.

# SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HIDATSA.

## Introduction.

The Hidatsa (Minitari, Gros Ventre of the Missouri) form, with the closely related Crow Indians, a distinct branch of the Siouan family. They now reside on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, which they share with the Mandan and Arikara. According to the census of 1910 they number 547.

Before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 the Hidatsa were settled in three villages on the Knife River, which they occupied at least as early as 1796 and where they were visited by Lewis and Clark's expedition, by Catlin, and by Maximilian. By far the largest of these villages was that called Hirā'tsa, which in Maximilian's day included over eighty earth-lodges; it was situated on the north bank, about three miles from the Missouri. Both the others were on the south side,— Awatixā'ati half a mile above the mouth of the Knife and Awaxā'wi at the embouchure. The former was made up of about forty, and the latter of eighteen earth-lodges. Maximilian estimated the total population at between 2,100 and 2,200.[1] Tradition speaks of two additional sites, those of Xū'ra and Awati'ə, which are referred to as constituting with the foregoing the "Five Villages."

The Awaxā'wi language differed dialectically from that of the Hidatsa. proper. To illustrate this point Buffalo-bird-woman told the following story. An Awaxā'wi and an Hidatsa once went looking for buffalo. The Hidatsa said, "There's a bull." The Awaxā'wi answered, "awakā'ts," which meant "I see it" in his dialect[2] but "It is a badger" in Hidatsa. The Hidatsa said, "No, it is not a badger." They had a dispute about it and soon came to blows.

Owing to the ravages of the smallpox epidemic the three villages were consolidated into one, and accordingly it is impossible nowadays to get first-hand data as to the relations of the three villages when they represented distinct communities. Several individuals are remembered as belonging to the Awaxā'wi, among them Poor-wolf, Small-ankle, and Juneberry. Marriages are said to have taken place both within and without the village group. Maximilian enumerates distinct chiefs for each village, and

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[1] Maximilian, II, 212 *f.*; Matthews, 15, 38; Handbook, art. "Hidatsa."

[2] In Hidatsa the accent is on the second syllable of *awa'kats*.

I have little doubt that the villages were independent of one another. There is no question that there were slight cultural differences. Thus, I was told that the *miraraxúxi* society [1] was confined to the Awaxã'wi, and peculiarities of this sort might be inferred by analogy from the Mandan conditions, for as we have seen the Nũ'pta had developed certain specific traits in Maximilian's time.

## Government.

For reasons already given it is impossible to understand fully the political relations of the several villages prior to consolidation. We may reasonably assume that they formed uniformly friendly and autonomous groups corresponding to the local bands of nomadic Plains tribes.

The form of internal government in a village is likewise not quite clear. My principal informant introduced the concept of the "winter chief," whose term of office began in the fall when the leaves turned yellow and expired with the melting of the snow. According to this witness a new winter village was built every year. The winter chief was a man associated with some medicine bundle, but as to the exact method of his selection no data were obtained. When chosen he put a pipe before his bundle and prayed. He often prayed thus during his term of office. He was responsible for the safety and welfare of the people. On the other hand, he was entitled to credit if the buffalo were abundant and if many enemies were killed during his incumbency. In fact, he was permitted to reckon as his own any war honors won during this period. Sometimes there was no chief because the man chosen was unwilling to risk the responsibilities of the position. The ideal chief seems to have been a man of general benevolence who offered smoke to the old people and feasted the poor.

My informant recounted the chiefs for every year from about 1845 to 1875. I got the impression that this was the Hidatsa method of designating years, corresponding to the Crow scheme of denoting each year by some significant happening.[2] The names of the Hidatsa chiefs were sometimes but by no means always followed by a statement as to some important occurrence, e. g., "Four-fingers, a Sioux was killed that winter;" "Long-hairs, many buffalo came to the village."

I neither discovered how the village was governed during the summer nor what was the position of the retired chief. As regards Big-cloud (about 1845), who is said to have conducted the movement to Fort Berthold, I got

[1] Lowie, (d), 237.
[2] Lowie, (c), 242.

the information that he was entitled to honor marks in the summer as well as in the winter and indeed remained a chief all his life. The latter statement may simply mean that he remained always a man of distinction, but since he is mentioned as the leader of many war parties his social status may have been the result of his martial record rather than of his former chieftaincy.

The power of policing the village was vested in the Black Mouth society, one of the age-organizations, whose activities have been fully described in a previous publication.[1] Their principal functions were twofold. They superintended the communal buffalo hunt so as to prevent the premature stampeding of the herd; and they attempted to remove any misunderstandings among fellow-villagers. Thus, if an Hidatsa had killed another, the relatives of the slain man might plot revenge; but the Black Mouths would gather together property and offer it to the aggrieved people, fill a pipe for them to smoke, and by gentle words would conciliate them and cause them to give up projects of revenge.

## Moieties and Clans.

The Hidatsa are divided into seven matrilineal clans, grouped in the Four-clan (*nā'ki tō'pa*) and the Three-clan (*nā'ki rā'wi*) moieties as follows:—

### Four-Clan Moiety.

tsī'tska ru'pā'ke, Prairie-chicken people
awa'xe rā'wita, ?
miripā'ti, Real Water
i'ticúxke, Wide Butte

### Three-Clan Moiety.

maxō'xati, ?
mɛ'ɛ tsirō'ka, Knife people.[2]
ap'u' 'ka mika', Lower Cap

These moieties and clans were represented in each of the old Hidatsa villages.

Morgan[3] does not speak of the dual division but lists the seven clans as given above, his Hidatsa words being clearly the equivalents of mine. His

[1] Lowie, (d), 274.
[2] The native word was said to belong to the old Hidatsa language.
[3] (b), part 2, chapter 6.

translations differ to some extent, being the following: Prairie-chicken, Unknown-animal, Water, Hill-people, Lodge, Knife, Bonnet.

The clan origin legends I was able to get are of the trivial character typical of the corresponding Crow traditions. It is said that a few young men on a war party stopped over night among some *macúgākca* bushes, such as the prairie-chickens frequent. Accordingly, the rest of the people called them "Prairie-chickens." This story, like the comparable Crow Indian tales, naïvely ignores the fact of maternal descent. The name *miripā'ti* is said to refer to Devil's Lake. When the people of this clan were asked by the other Hidatsa where they came from, they replied "Real Water," meaning the lake mentioned. A second explanation of the name was obtained. Some *miripā'ti* had killed one of their clan. They moved away and built a village of their own on the site of the old Hidatsa village of Xū'ra. They were afraid to go out in the dark because of the relatives of the murdered man, so they kept a large supply of water for the night. One of them kept water in a paunch. This man said, "Well, I am afraid to go outside, so I keep this water, but now I don't want to drink." So he ran his knife through the paunch and the water flowed out. His clan was therefore called *miripā'tahc*, Punching-water, which name was afterwards altered to *miripā'ti*.

The Prairie-chicken people did not consider prairie-chickens as sacred in any way except if a clansman had chanced to see one in a vision. Then he would pray to it and would not kill it under normal conditions; but if hungry he would do so.

Each clan wished to establish a reputation for bravery. Fellow-members tried to dissuade one another from disgraceful doings, of which all had to bear the blame. Thus, if a Prairie-chicken man had committed murder, his clansmen were all ashamed for other people would say, "The Prairie-chickens are murderers."

The clans were exogamous but the subjective attitude towards infractions of the rule seems to have been even milder than among the Crow.[1] They were regarded as improper but not as shockingly unethical. Thus, Wolf-chief said that while very few married within the clan the other people would simply comment on it by saying, "They like each other, we can't help it." According to another informant, a man who married a woman of his clan was called *maru' 'ta*, "foolish," or *i' rooca 'tsac*, "belonging to the same group," by his joking-relatives but others would not take any notice of his actions. If a Prairie-chicken man married a Mandan woman of this clan, there was no objection even on the part of the *makútsali*. The children

[1] Lowie, (c), 188 f.

of an endogamous Prairie-chicken clan union were called *tsĭ' ts ka(a)waxé*, "Prairie-chicken high hill"; the informant thought in the old language the word was *awaxaĭ*. No further explanation was secured.

The relations obtaining among members of the same clan and opposite sex are comparable to those between brother and sister. The clanswomen would make quillwork, shirts, leggings, moccasins, and robes for a clan brother, and hand them to him, saying, "Brother, I bring this for you." In return they would be presented with a horse.

When an Hidatsa marries a Mandan, the children are members of the mother's clan and tribe. In the relatively far rarer cases of marriage with an Arikara woman, the children would of course be Arikara; they would not be affiliated with any Hidatsa clan unless they were adopted.

Buffalo-bird-woman's maternal grandmother once bought a little Crow girl for a horse and plenty of goods. She adopted her as a daughter, thus making her a Prairie-chicken, whereby the Crow woman's children also became Prairie-chickens. If a woman of another tribe married into a polygamous household, she was reckoned of the same clan as the other wives (who were usually sisters).

The moieties had no marriage-regulating functions. This statement rests on explicit dicta of the natives and is also borne out by the list of marriages. Further, the dual division does not seem to have had any connection with athletic games.

Though it is not easy fully to comprehend the nature of the Hidatsa moieties, it is clear that their functions were in part political. Whenever matters of tribal moment were to be debated, the grouping of men was based on the dual division. This happened, for example, when treaties were concluded with the United States. In such a case, either moiety as a body might agree to abide by the decision reached by the other. A similar arrangement was said to exist nowadays between the Mandan and Hidatsa. When the government issued calicoes, the Hidatsa also divided into two groups. Then the Four-clans might say, "Three-clans, take this pile; we Four-clans shall take the remainder." Being more numerous, the Four-clan people would get a somewhat larger share.

In the old days each moiety had its own territory for eagle-hunting, and the complementary moiety was forbidden to hunt eagles or use the pits there.

Big-cloud, Bobtail-bull, and Cherry-necklace, all members of the Three-clan moiety, were chiefs, but there were more chiefs belonging to the Four-clans. To what extent this was connected with the numerical preponderance of this moiety, it is impossible to say definitely.

Judging from the frequency of references to the moieties by the natives,

I believe that they loomed as important divisions in their consciousness. Nevertheless it seems reasonably certain that their antiquity is not so great as that of the clans. The complete absence of any trace of moieties among the Crow seems decisive on this point, while the *clan* concept of the two tribes practically coincides, as do their notions as to the functions of the father's clan. In short, vital features of Hidatsa social organization are shared by the Crow. If the moiety division is an ancient Hidatsa institution, why do we fail to find even a trace of it among the Crow? This argument is strengthened by the evidence afforded by the kinship nomenclature. Abundant proof exists for the influence of the clan organization on kinship terms, but I fail to find a trace of the specific effects of a dual organization, whether we assume that exogamy was or was not at one time associated with the moieties. In an exogamous moiety system, e. g., the two types of cross-cousins, father's sister's and mother's brother's child, are of the same moiety; yet we shall see that these types are sharply distinguished in Hidatsa by a difference of generations. Again the mother's brother is *not* classed with the father's sister's husband, after the manner of some tribes where this feature is possibly associated with the dual organization. Finally, it may be noted that while fellow-members of one's clan are "brothers" and "sisters," these terms are not extended to members of the same moiety if of a different clan. The only statement to the contrary which I obtained by its weakness really bears out my point: it was said that members of one moiety were friends, a *kind* of brothers. There is indeed, proof that certain social practices hold for the larger division. For example, I was told that when presents were received by Four-clan people from their clan sons and daughters, they called together all the other members of the moiety and distributed their gifts among them. As shown elsewhere, the joking-relationship likewise extended, at least in some measure, to the children of the moiety members. Nevertheless, in almost all such cases the indications are that we are dealing with an *extension* from the smaller to the larger group. In other instances, a usage is definitely associated with the clan and only the clan. Thus, if a man struck a coup, only members of his own clan rejoiced. Finally the lack of distinctive names for the moieties may be regarded as corroborative testimony. Taken in connection with the various reasons already adduced, it suggests that the moieties developed historically as combinations of several clans.

A clan census was taken with the main purpose of determining what clans had intermarried. The results are the following:—

Joe Packineau, Lower Cap; wife, Arikara.
Skunk, Lower Cap; wife, Arikara.
Juneberry, Lower Cap; husband (dead), Knife.

Otter, Lower Cap; husband (Bad-brave), Knife.
Dancing, Lower Cap; husband (Young-wolf), Mandan Prairie-chicken.
I'tsi kī'kic, Lower Cap; unmarried; son of Bad-brave, Knife.
Medicine-crow, Lower Cap; wife, Three-clan moiety, clan not known to informant.
Many-sweet-grasses, Lower Cap; husband (Sand, dead), Mandan Prairie-chicken.
Frank Packineau, Lower Cap; wife, Mandan of clan not known to informant.
Tall-woman, Lower Cap; husband, Standing Rock Agency Dakota.
Hairy-coat, Real Water; wife, Mandan.
Looking-for-water, Prairie-chicken; husband (Crow-arm), Mandan of Three-clan moiety.
Son-of-star, Knife; wife (Buffalo-bird-woman), Prairie-chicken.
Ōokē' wī'a (Hair-ornament-woman), maxō'xati clan; husband (Crow-flies-high), awáxe rā'wita; father, Prairie-chicken.
Drags-wolf, Real Water; wife (Prairie-dog-woman), Prairie-chicken.
Spotted-horn (son of Ōī'okē' wa), maxōxati; wife (Other-comes-out), Prairie-chicken.
Many-women, Knife; husband (Kidney), awáxe rā'wita.
Old-white-man, maxō'xati; wife, Mandan.
Butterfly, Real Water; wife, Mandan.
Poor-wolf, Real Water; wife, Knife.
Dancing-bull, Prairie-chicken; wife, Mandan.
Fast-dog, maxō'xati; wife, Prairie-chicken.
Spotted-rabbit, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Prairie-chicken.
Hard-horn, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Knife.
James Horn, awáxe rā'wita, wife, Knife.
No-arm, maxō'xati; wife, awáxe rā'wita.
Biscuit, Prairie-chicken; wife, Knife.
Sitting-owl, Knife; wife, awáxe rā'wita.
Foolish-bear, Wide Butte; wife, awáxe rā'wita.
George Elk, Wide Butte; wife, Mandan.
George Blackhawk, Wide Butte; wife, Prairie-chicken.
Bull's-eye, Wide Butte; wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
Spotted-wolf, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Prairie-chicken.
Thomas Spotted-wolf, Knife; wife, Three-clan moiety.
Young-bird, Knife; wife, Three-clan moiety.
Yellow-wolf, maxō'xati; wife, Knife.
James Baker, Knife; wife, Mandan.
Lewis Baker, Knife; wife, awáxe rā'wita.
Percy Baker, Knife; wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
Willy Hale, maxō'xati; wife, Real Water.
Arthur Mandan, Prairie-chicken.
White-finger-nail, Knife; wife, Mandan.
Coffee, Real Water; wife, Knife.[1]
Francis Charging, Knife; wife, Prairie-chicken.
Bird-bear, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Mandan.
Harry Eaton, Knife; wife, Prairie-chicken.

[1] The informant was not sure of the clan, but felt certain that Coffee's wife was of the Three-clan moiety.

Little-wolf, Knife; wife, Arikara.
Young-bear, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Dakota.
Front-coyote, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Mandan.
Peter Standish, Three-clan moiety; wife, Mandan.
Walks, Three-clan moiety; wife, Mandan, Prairie-chicken.
Henry Bad-gun, Knife; wife, Knife.
Lean-bear, Knife; wife, Knife.
Robert Lincoln, Prairie-chicken; wife, Knife.
Sam Jones (= Left-hand-bull), Real Water; wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
Crow-bull, Real Water; wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
Black-mountain-lion, Knife; wife, Prairie-chicken.
Phillip Atkins, Knife; wife, Real Water.
Foolish-wolf, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Arikara.
Holding-eagle, Prairie-chicken; wife, Mandan.
Watkins, Prairie-chicken; unmarried.
William Coghlan, Real Water; unmarried.
Louis His-horse-is-red, Real Water; wife, Wide Butte.
Dan Wolf, Real Water; wife, Dakota.
Good-bear, Real-water; wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
Buffalo-paunch, Real Water; wife, awáxe rā'wita.
Wolf-chief, Prairie-chicken; wife, Mandan.
Bear-arm, Knife; wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
Old-dog, Three-clan moiety (probably Knife); wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
White-duck, Three-clan moiety (probably Knife); wife, Knife.
Stick-face, Prairie-chicken; wife, Mandan.
Rabbit-head, Knife; wife, Knife.
White-face, Knife; wife, Arikara.
Pan, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Lower Cap.
Rabbit-above, Prairie-chicken; wife, Real Water.
Conrad Smith, Prairie-chicken; wife, awáxe rā'wita.
Bears-in-water, Lower Cap; wife, Three-clan moiety (Knife?).
Harry Savings, Knife; wife, Mandan Prairie-chicken.
William Dean, Lower Cap; wife, Arikara.
Stanley Dean, Lower Cap; wife, Three-clan moiety.
Mike Bassett, Real Water; wife, Three-clan moiety.
Big-head, Three-clan moiety; wife, Prairie-chicken.
Old-male-black-bear, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Three-clan moiety.
One-feather, awáxe rā'wita; wife, Wide Butte.
Carl Withman, Three-clan moiety; wife, Mandan.
Sam Newman, Three-clan moiety (because his Arikara mother joined Three-clan moiety); wife, Arikara.
Many-shrines, awáxe rā'wita; husband, (Bear's necklace), Prairie-chicken.
First-squash-blossom, awáxe rā'wita; husband (Bobtail-bull), Knife.
Skunk-woman, Knife; no husband.
Many-woman, Knife; husband (Kidney), awáxe rā'wita.
Marakápec, Knife; husband, Lower Cap.
Woman-bear, Prairie-chicken; husband, Lower Cap.
Buffalo-woman, Prairie-chicken; husband, Knife.
Takes-out, Real Water; husband, Knife.
Cold-medicine, Knife; husband, Knife.

Yellow-top, Real Water; husband, awáxe rā'wita.
His-cherry, Real Water; husband, awáxe rā'wita.
Juneberry, Knife; husband, awáxe rā'wita.
Not-woman, Knife; husband, Mandan.
Different-snake, Knife; husband, (Prairie-chicken), Mandan.
Grows-on-water, Knife; husband, Real Water.
Corn-stalk, Knife; husband (Two-hearts), awáxe rā'wita.
All-blossom, Real-Water; husband, (Black-chest), Mandan.
Woman-in-water, Knife; husband, Mandan.

Of the 153 adult Hidatsa (living and dead) listed above, the clan affiliations are as follows: Prairie-chicken, 26; awáxe rā'wita, 26; Real Water 21; Wide Butte, 6; maxõ'xati, 7; Knife, 51; Lower Cap 16. The total for the Four-clan people is accordingly 79, for the Three-clans 74.

In the following table the data bearing on intermarriages of clans are presented, the method adopted being essentially that suggested by Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser.[1] Since the order of the spouses in the preceding list is

| | Prairie-chicken | awáxe rā'wita | Real Water | Wide Butte | maxõ'-xati | Knife | Lower Cap |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prairie-chicken | 0 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 5 |
| awáxe rā'wita | 4 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 1 |
| Real Water | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Wide Butte | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| maxõ'xati | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Knife | 7 | 9 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| Lower Cap | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 |

[1] Goldenweiser, 284.

immaterial, the vertical and the horizontal columns ought to give identical figures, which of course implies duplication. That is to say, the number of marriages between, say, the Prairie-chickens and the Real Waters is recorded in the third square of the first horizontal column but also in the third square of the first vertical column, and so forth. Marriages with foreigners have been disregarded, and a zero indicates that no marriage between the two clans in question is on record.

Small as is the total number of marriages recorded, certain interesting facts develop from this tabulation. For one thing, the only cases of non-exogamous unions, four in all, occur in the Knife clan. Secondly, the non-exogamous nature of the moieties is clearly shown. Of the fifty-six marriages recorded, twenty-three took place within the moiety,— thirteen among the Four-clan and ten among the Three-clan people. Each of the clans of the former moiety has intermarried with the three other clans of the same moiety. In the Three-clan moiety there is no record of an intra-moiety marriage between the maxõ′xati and Lower Cap clans, but this must be due merely to the small number of maxõ′xati people since there is also no case of their intermarrying with the Wide Butte of the complementary division, while an instance occurs of a maxõ′xati marrying a Knife. Further, it is important to note that of the five types of union permissible by clan exogamy, but not recorded as having actually occurred, four would be perfectly consistent with exogamous moieties. The simplest explanation of the lacking combinations is that they are absent simply because of the inadequate extent of the series. It can hardly be assumed that the Wide Butte on principle eschewed possible mates from the complementary moiety, while the small number of individuals of that clan (6) sufficiently accounts for the phenomenon. A similar explanation may be offered for the lack of Lower Cap and maxõ′xati marriages, there being only seven members of the latter clan in my list. The only case not so obviously interpreted in this way is that of the Real Waters (21) and the Lower Caps (16), but even here the number of individuals is not very great, and the moiety factor being excluded no explanation but chance suggests itself. In short, I believe that in principle the Hidatsa had no objection to marrying into any clan except their own.

## Terms of Relationship.

Morgan rightly insists on the essential similarity between the Hidatsa and Crow kinship systems and gives a fairly accurate exposition of their dominant principles.[1] He deserves special credit for emphasizing two very

[1] Morgan, (a), 188–189.

characteristic traits,— the placing of the cross-cousins into generations different from the speaker's, and the classification of the mother's brother with the elder brother. The Crow and Hidatsa terminologies differ markedly from the ordinary form of classificatory system as found among the Dakota in the complete lack of specific terms for uncle, nephew and niece, and cross-cousins. Thus, there is no distinction between male and female speech in designating the brother's son and daughter, both men and women classifying these with their own children. Morgan errs, however, in his treatment of the paternal aunt relationship. According to him, this aunt is called "grandmother" and correlatively calls her brother's children "grandchild"; though he also mentions a distinct word phonetically corresponding to my *bacā'wi*, he explains that it is restricted to male usage. According to my information, this is incorrect. The word *bacā'wi*, though without a correlative to designate the nephew-niece relationship, is the regular word used by both sexes for the father's sister; and this relative is not addressed as grandmother. This statement is corroborated by Matthews's data (see below). Morgan's error may be due to rationalization from the fact that this aunt's husband is undoubtedly called grandfather.

Other points of disagreement with Morgan will be best considered in connection with the terms themselves.

Matthews's list[1] does not give nearly as many connotations as Morgan's, but is rather accurate so far as it goes and phonetically superior. Matthews makes the mistake of claiming for the Hidatsa system a specific term for maternal uncle, *ita' du* (with third person pronoun). "Maternal uncle" is only one of the meanings this word has; it is applied, as Morgan also notes, to the elder brother (w. sp.), and the essential thing is this classification of the mother's brother with the elder brother. In the Bear-girl myth, e. g., the heroine addresses her elder brothers as *matā'ru*. Matthews therefore further errs in stating that *itame' tsa* is the only term for a woman's elder brother, though he is right in saying that this is a general name for brother or male cousin, i. e., is used by both sexes. According to my informants it may even be applied to sisters, though the stem seems to be simply that for "man."

While clan lines are obliterated by the absence of specific terms for the brother's son and daughter (w. sp.), the clan factor becomes so dominant as to override the generation factor in the designation of cross-cousins, the female descendants through females of the paternal aunt, of the maternal uncle, and of the maternal grandmother's brother. At least, this is the most satisfactory explanation of the empirical facts.

[1] Matthews, 55–57.

For the sake of clearness I shall, regardless of the necessity of some repetition and arbitrariness, list the Hidatsa terms under the general headings of consanguinity and affinity, and further subdivide according to generations. Where there is no absolute demarcation between terms of consanguinity and affinity, I shall indicate overlapping by bracketing the connotations in point. It should be noted that differences in generation are not distinguished beyond the second ascending and descending generations.

The words are given with the first person pronominal forms, but where the stem differs for other persons these forms are also listed.

Except for the father terms and where a vocative form is precluded by avoidance rules, the vocative and non-vocative stems coincide, but minor alterations are made either by suffixing *c* for the non-vocative or by a change of accent. Thus, màtawapicā′, my grandchild (voc.) becomes *ma'tawapi'ca:* maku′, my grandmother (voc.) is changed to *maku'c*, and *matu′*, my brother's wife (voc., w. sp.) becomes *matū'c*.

## TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY.

*Speaker's Generation.* In order to avoid unnecessary reiteration, I state at the outset that parallel cousins are brothers and sisters, while cross-cousins, being placed in the parent and child relationship, are not included in the present section. Further, it should be noted that all male clansfolk are brothers, while the female members of one's clan and generation are sisters.

mī'aka′ (m. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, mother's mother's brother, mother's mother's mother's brother.

matsū ka′. My younger brother (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's son, (m. sp.), sister's daughter's son (m. sp.).

matawī'a (m. sp.). My elder sister.

màta 'kī ica′ (m. sp.). My younger sister, sister's daughter.

matā′ru (w. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, mother's mother's brother.

marū′u (w. sp.). My elder sister.

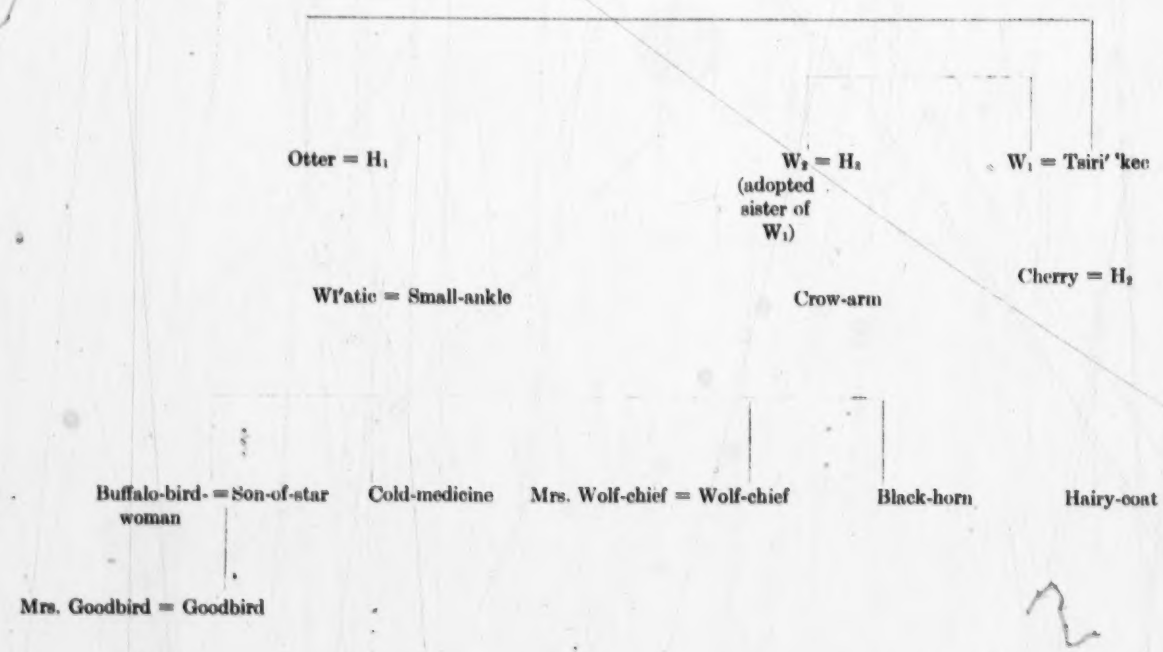
matā'ku′ (w. sp.). My younger sister.

matawa′ tsa. My brother or sister,[1] regardless of relative age; members of one's clan are designated by this term.

maku′tsati. My father's clansman's child (see p. 42). (Father's clansmen's children may be addressed as brothers and sisters).

[1] As noted above, the stem seems to be that for "man."

*Genealogical Table I*



In addition to the above may be listed *màta wa + i'tĭa*, which was given as an alternative for mī'aka'. The word is readily analyzed into *ma'ta*, first person possessive pronoun; *wa*, one who; *i'tia'*, big, old (here with comparative meaning, that is, my big (old) one. Brothers and sisters by the same father and mother might be called collectively *makitawa'tsikā'ti, makiī' rukā' tats*, or *maki' ruakā' tats*.

*matawī'a* is obviously derived from *mī'a*, woman, the *m* being changed to *w* in intervocalic position.

It is obvious that the nomenclature for brothers and sisters distinguishing relative seniority is rather full, seven out of eight possible concepts being represented; only for the younger brother is there a term common to male and female speech. Mandan is poorer by two terms, that for younger brother (m. sp., w. sp.) being also applied to the elder brother by women, while the men do not differentiate elder and younger sisters. Morgan gives only six Hidatsa terms, merging the women's with the men's word for younger sister; but *matā'ku'* is certainly correct for the former and is listed by Matthews.

Buffalo-bird-woman (see table, p. 29) calls Wolf-chief *matsū'ka'*, and he calls her *matawī'a;* she called her deceased elder brother Black-horn *matā'ru* and was called in turn *màta'kĭ icá*.

Buffalo-bird-woman called her younger sister, Cold-medicine, *matā'kú*, and was called *marū'*.

Cold-medicine's children would have been Good-bird's brothers and sisters.

Wolf-chief calls White-owl *matsū'ka'* because they are fellow-clansmen.

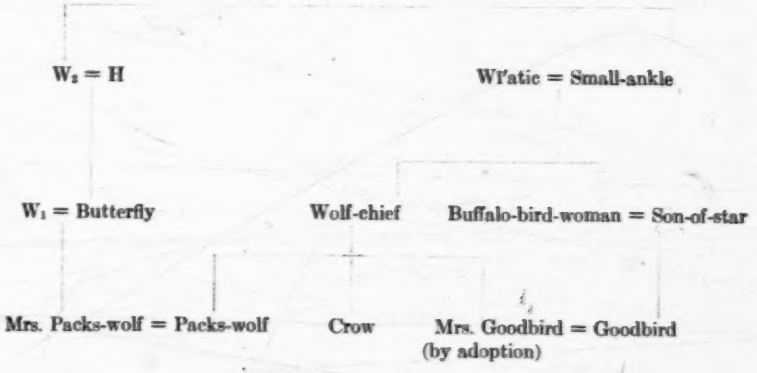
Son-of-a-star's brother's children are Goodbird's brothers and sisters.

The unusual confusion of generations indicated by the meanings listed above was checked by genealogical data.

Goodbird calls Wolf-chief and Tsiri' 'kee *mī'aká* and they call him *matsū'ká;* the latter is addressed *matā'ru* by Wĭ'atic and Buffalo-bird-woman. Tsiri''kee is also elder brother to Wolf-chief. If Buffalo-bird-woman had any daughters or daughter's daughters, all of these would address Tsiri' 'kee as *matā'ru*, elder brother, and he would call them *màta 'kĭica'*, younger sister.

Butterfly's children (table, p. 31) are Buffalo-bird-woman's brothers and sisters for they are the children of her father's sister's son, i. e., of her "father" (see below).

*Genealogical Table 2*




*First Ascending Generation.* tatē′ (voc.). My father, father's brother or clansman, hence father's mother's brother, and father's sister's son, [mother's sister's husband].

mā′tuc (non-voc.). Coextensive with above; 3d person, *aruwā′tu*.

tati′c (non-voc.). Also coextensive with above.

itā′ 'kaxie'. My father, father's clansman (optional), [father-in-law].

i'ka′. My mother, mother's sister, [father's brother's wife].

ihū′c. His mother, etc.

bacā′ wi. Father's sister or her clanswoman of the same generation, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, and all other female descendants through females *ad infinitum*.

The poverty of Hidatsa terminology in this generation is noteworthy, not only as regards the absence of uncles, but also in point of specific terms for the sexes and as regards differentiation of vocative and non-vocative.

Both Buffalo-bird-woman and Wolf-chief called Small-ankle *tatē′*.

Morgan incorrectly classes the father's sister's daughter with the mother and her husband with the father; since the father's sister's daughter is classed with the paternal aunt, her husband is logically classed with this aunt's husband, i. e., as a grandfather (see below). His error in classing the father's sister's daughter with the mother is presumably a consequence of his mistake concerning the father's sister.

Tsiri' 'kec (see table, p. 29) would be called *tatē′* by Goodbird's children, because he is Goodbird's mother's mother's mother's brother, i. e., his "brother" and thus stands to them in the relationship of a father's brother.

Wolf-chief, about sixty-five years of age, actually addressed male members of his father's clan as "father" even if they were little boys.

Crow-arm (see table, p. 29) calls Tsiri' 'kec father, because the latter stands to him in the relationship of mother's (adopted) sister's husband. But Tsiri' 'kec is regarded as an elder brother by Goodbird, Wolf-chief and Buffalo-bird-woman for reasons previously given. Hence Crow-arm is treated by all three as a brother's son, i. e., is called "son" and addresses the two men as "father." This is not mere rationalization but the actual mode of address. My interpreter Goodbird told me he had never known before my inquiries why Crow-arm, who is about seventy-five years of age, called him father.

Butterfly (table, p. 31) is Buffalo-bird-woman's father because he is her father's sister's son. For the same reason Ben Benson's son is Goodbird's father (table, p. 32), and Goodbird is called father by Wolf-chief's son. Benson's daughter, Leaf, and Leaf's daughter are called *bacā'wi* by Goodbird.

Butterfly's daughter, Mrs. Packs-wolf, is Buffalo-bird-woman's sister and therefore "mother" to Goodbird; her children are Buffalo-bird-woman's children and Goodbird's brothers and sisters. Butterfly's son, however, would be Goodbird's *brother*, for he would be Goodbird's mother's father's sister's son's son = mother's father's son = mother's brother = brother.

Wolf-chief's son calls Buffalo-bird-woman *bacā'wi*. Wolf-chief's daughter would call Buffalo-bird-woman's daughter, i. e., her father's sister's daughter *bacā'wi*.

Goodbird's children, male and female, would call Tsiri' 'kec *tatē'*.

Wolf-chief's children call Goodbird "father."

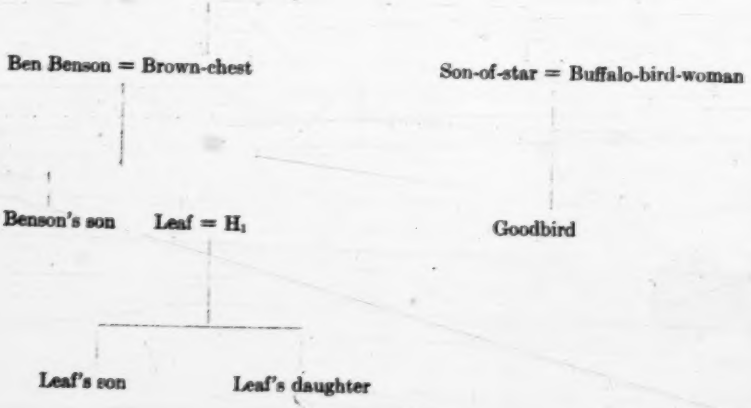
Packs-wolf and all of Good-bird's clan sons (i. e., clansmen's sons) call him *it'ā'kari'c*, literally, "old man"; tatē' would be equally correct.

Goodbird called Cold-medicine *i'ka'*.

When a clan-father is younger than the speaker, he may be called *mā'tuo kari'cta*, i. e., young (or small) father.

Son-of-a-star's sister's daughters are addressed by Goodbird as *bacā'wi* and her sons as *tatē'*.

*Genealogical Table 3*



*Second Ascending Generation.* mā'rut'a'ka'. My grandfather (m. sp., w. sp.), grandfather's brother (m. sp., w. sp.), [father-in-law, w. sp.], [father's sister's husband, m. sp., w. sp.], [grandfather's sister's husband], [husband's sister's husband].

maku'. My grandmother (m. sp., w. sp.), grandmother's sister (m. sp., w. sp.), [mother-in-law, w. sp.], [grandfather's brother's wife (m. sp., w. sp.)].

Morgan's error as regards the use of the grandmother term for the father's sister has already been noted. He is also mistaken in classing the mother's mother's brother with the grandfather; as explained in an earlier section, this kinsman is called elder brother.

The classification of the father's sister's husband with the grandfather is one point of difference from the Crow system. According to Morgan's schedules, this Hidatsa feature is shared only by unrelated tribes, viz., the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Pawnee.[1]

Ben Benson (table, p. 32) is Goodbird's father's sister's husband, hence is called grandfather.

Logical inferences from peculiarities of nomenclature previously noted result in astonishing anomalies. Thus, Hairy-coat (see table, p. 32), though about seventy, actually addresses Goodbird, about forty-five, as "grandfather." The reason is that his real grandfather, Tsiri'kec, being Goodbird's mother's mother's mother's brother becomes Goodbird's elder brother, whence the conclusion that Goodbird is a grandfather's brother and accordingly, a grandfather. For a similar reason Hairy-coat addresses Buffalo-bird-woman, his grandfather's "sister," as grandmother, and the same word is applied to her by his brothers and children.

Butterfly is Goodbird's grandfather because for reasons given in the preceding section he is Goodbird's mother's "father."

Small-ankle's brothers are Goodbird's grandfathers; his sisters are Goodbird's and Goodbird's children's grandmothers. Small-ankle's sister's husbands are Goodbird's grandfathers, Small-ankle's brother's wife is Goodbird's grandmother.

Son-of-a-star's paternal aunt is Goodbird's grandmother; his paternal uncle is Goodbird's grandfather.

*First Descending Generation.* marica'. My son, brother's son or clan brother's son, mother's brother's son, sister's son (this last meaning only for w. sp.).

batse'cie. My clan son, also used in addressing any young man of unknown relationship.

ma 'ka'. My daughter, brother's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, sister's daughter (this last meaning only for w. sp.).

ma'tawakari'cta. My child (literally, my little one).

One anomaly that particularly requires genealogical confirmation here is the lack of a nephew and niece term correlative with *bacā'ri*. The correctness of the mean-

[1] Morgan, (a), 322.

ings given is shown by the fact that Buffalo-bird-woman calls Wolf-chief's son *maricá* and his daughter *ma'ká* as though they were her own children, while in turn she is addressed *bacā'wi*.

Goodbird calls Wolf-chief's children *maricá* and *ma 'ka'*.

Cold-medicine called Goodbird, her sister's son, *marica'*.

*Second Descending Generation.* ma'tawapicā'. My grandchild, my brother's grandchild, [wife's brother's son].

It has already been pointed out (p. 33) that the mother's mother's brother's (or even the mother's mother's mother's brother's) daughter's son is classed with the grandchild.

Consistently with his remarks on the designation of the father's sister, Morgan classifies the woman's brother's child with the grandchild. As shown in the preceding section, a woman classifies her brother's children with her own. Morgan further errs in stating that a man classifies his sister's grandchild with his own; this is impossible since his sister's children are called his brothers and sisters.

Buffalo-bird-woman calls any one of Goodbird's children, male or female, *màtawapicā'*.

## Terms of Affinity.

*Speaker's Generation.* mā' kira'c (non-voc.). My husband, provided I have never been married before.

ma'taruwi'a (non-voc.). My wife, provided she has never been married before. (The last two syllables form the usual word for "woman").

ma'taruwatsec. My husband, if I have been married before. (The last two syllables form the usual word for "man.")

ɛ' raha (non-voc.). My spouse.

u'a. His wife.

There is considerable complexity in the nomenclature of spouses and their brothers or sisters, and the definitions given must be supplemented by the following data. A man may call his wife by name, but a woman must not call her husband by name though the words forming it are not taboo to her. Spouses call each other *hi'rɛ* or *hari' 'ku*, which words are not so much terms of kinship as demonstrative interjections meaning "that fellow" or "that woman." If the wife has not been married before, her husband may call her *hi'rɛ ma'taruwi'a*. If the woman had been previously married, the husband's joking-relatives would object to his using the latter expression with respect to her.

Teknonymy may be used non-vocatively by both spouses if the wife has been married before. The woman is then spoken of as *narā'ka ihu'c*, my child's mother, and the man either by a corresponding phrase or with the name of the child substituted.

I have no instance of *u'a* compounded with the first person pronoun though this combination occurs with the same root in the word for brother's wife (see below). Instead of *u'a* may be used the third person form of *ma'taruwi'a* (with the restriction of meaning already noted).

Of several women in a polygamous household, each not previously married might refer to her husband as *mā' kirā'c.*

A man calls his wife's sister as he does his own wife, viz., *hi'rɛ* or *ha'riwa'ku* (apparently a variation of *hari' 'ku*), or by name. Non-vocatively he uses a descriptive phrase, e. g., *ma'taruwi'ac itā' kuc*, my wife's younger sister. When a man has taken to wife first the elder and then the younger of two sisters, the latter is referred to as *i'taruwi'a kari'ctac*, "his young wife." Goodbird calls his wife's elder sister by name, other people refer to her as *u'a i'ti 'ac*, "his wife's elder one"; he calls his wife's younger sister by name, while other people refer to her as *itaruwi'ac*, "his wife."

A woman thinks of her sister's husband as her own, but calls him *batsɛ'*, "man"; non-vocatively she uses a descriptive phrase, e. g., *marū'c kirā'c*, "my elder sister's husband."

This last expression is given by Morgan for the father's brother's daughter's husband (w. sp.); this is of course correct provided the speaker is younger than her female cousin. Morgan's *ma-ensh-ke-rash* for the sister's husband (w. sp.) is probably merely a typographical error.

A woman calls her husband's brother *hi' rɛ;* the corresponding non-vocative form is given below.

*iri'kuɛ ts* is used for a fellow-wife, presumably only if not a sister.
In jest a man may call his wife's brother his wife.

Small-ankle had four wives and called each of them by name, referring to them as *mataruwi'ac.* Each wife referred to him as *mā'kira'c.*

The remaining terms of affinity in this generation are as follows: —
bu' aka' (m. sp.) My brother's wife.
marā'ti' (m. sp.). My wife's brother, sister's husband.
maci' kicɔc (non-voc.). My husband's brother.
matu' (w. sp.). My brother's wife, my husband's sister.

Morgan rightly extends the meaning of *bu'aka* to cover the wives of relatives classed with the brother, viz., the father's brother's son, mother's sister's son, and mother's brother; he is mistaken in also translating the word "husband's brother," for which a specific term is given in my list. *bu'aka*, both in Hidatsa and Crow, is clearly derived from *u'a*, wife, (*bu'a*, my wife). *marā 'ti'* is correctly given by Morgan as applying to the husband of the father's brother's and mother's sister's daughter. Of *matu'* he also extends the connotation correctly to the wives of the parallel cousins.

Buffalo-bird-woman calls Wolf-chief's wife *matu'* and is so called by her sister-in-law.

*First Ascending Generation.* mā'rut'a'ka'. My father-in-law (w. sp.); husband's sister's husband (w. sp.); father's sister's husband, (m. sp., w. sp.); [grandfather, m. sp., w. sp.].

makú'. My mother-in-law (w. sp.); my sister's mother-in-law (w. sp.); [my grandmother, m. sp., w. sp.].

Since the parent-in-law taboo is observed by the Hidatsa, neither the wife's father nor her mother was normally addressed. The regulation as to the former was, however, less strict and when it was relaxed the son-in-law might use the vocative form *it'ā'kaxiɛ'*, "old man." Non-vocatively he uses another form of the same stem, *ma'ta it'ā' 'ka*. The mother-in-law is non-vocatively referred to as *mat'ut'a'ka;* this term also includes all those the wife calls mother, grandmother, and *bacā'wi*.

I find no warrant whatsoever for Morgan's term *mā-nā-tish*, which he translates "husband's father, wife's father." Phonetically his word resembles that for brother-in-law (m. sp.).

I have collected various instances of the use of *mā'rut'a'ka'*. Thus, Wolf-chief's son's wife would so call Goodbird, her husband's father's sister's son = husband's "father." If Small-ankle were still living, Wolf-chief's wife would address him as *mā'rut'a'ka'* and he would call her *mat'ū ka'*.

Morgan defines his equivalent of my *mat'ut'a'ka* to mean both wife's mother and husband's mother. According to my data, only the former is correct. If Small-ankle's wife were living, Mrs. Wolf-chief would call her *makú*.

Wolf-chief's daughter's husband would refer to Goodbird, i. e., his wife's father's sister's son, as *itā' 'kaxiɛ'*.

Wolf-chief's son's wife would call Goodbird, i. e., her husband's father's sister's son, *mā'ruta 'ka'*, the same word which would be used by Wolf-chief's daughter's child.

Goodbird is called *mā'ruta'ka'* by his wife's brother's wife.

Goodbird's wife and all her sisters call Buffalo-bird-woman, *makú*.

If Small-ankle's wife were living, Wolf-chief's wife would call her *makú*.

Goodbird classes with his father-in-law his wife's father's brothers, both her grandfathers and all their brothers, her father's sister's sons and her other father's clansmen, Mrs. Goodbird's grandmother and their sisters, her mother's sisters, her father's own and clan sisters are all Goodbird's mothers-in-law.

*First Descending Generation.* mat'ū'ka'. My daughter-in-law, wife's brother's wife, mother's brother's son's wife.

The son-in-law is not addressed directly on account of the avoidance rule. Non-vocatively he may be referred to in several ways, of which *nō'hā' kac* is probably the most common; qualified by the word for woman, *nō'hā' kac wi'a*, it is sometimes applied to the daughter-in-law instead of the word given above. Another word for the daughter's husband is *matu'ti. marā'ka'*, "my child" and *ma 'ka' kirā'c*, "my daughter's husband," are likewise used in referring to him.

According to Morgan, men class the sister's son's wife with the daughter, addressing her *ma'ka'*. Though I have no note on this relationship, this seems inconsistent with other connotations. Since the sister's son is classed with the younger brother, his wife would properly be a brother's wife, i. e., addressed as *bu aka'*.

As Morgan notes, the term *mat ū' ka'* is applied to the wife of the brother's son (m. sp.) and of the sister's son (w. sp.). For son-in-law Morgan only gives the phonetic equivalent of my *matu'ti*. He is right in including under this head the mother's brother's daughter's husband.

Morgan gives *me-nā* for sister's daughter's husband (m. sp.). I did not obtain this word and think it must be an error; the sister's daughter being a "sister," her husband would be a "brother-in-law."

Another term found in Morgan's schedules is *mat-to'-we-ū-kā-zhe*, "brother's son's wife" (w. sp.). Since the brother's son is classed with the son, his wife would naturally be called by the usual word for daughter-in-law.

If Wolf-chief's daughter married, her husband would be referred to by Goodbird as *nō'haka'*, *matu'ti* or *marā'ka'*. If Wolf-chief's son married, his wife would be called *mat 'ū'ka'* by Goodbird.

If Small-ankle's wife were living, she would call Mrs. Wolf-chief *mat 'ū' ka'*.

Son-of-star was Small-ankle's real son-in-law. Small-ankle would also have classed with Son-of-star the husbands of Buffalo-bird-woman's daughters, and of her daughters' daughters, whom of course Buffalo-bird-woman would also regard as sons-in-law. Good-bird's wife is Small-ankle's daughter-in-law; Wolf-chief's daughter's husband is Buffalo-bird-woman's son-in-law; Goodbird's daughter's husband would stand in this relationship to both Goodbird and Buffalo-bird-woman.

One of the most interesting features of the Hidatsa kinship system is the fact that the same individuals may stand to each other in two or more relationships. The concrete cases are too few to permit generalization as to the preferential use of one of the possible terms in actual practice, and I must accordingly content myself with describing the facts.

For reasons previously set forth Hairy-coat is Buffalo-bird-woman's "grandchild." But he is also a member of the same clan as Buffalo-bird-woman's father, hence he is her "father." According to my informants, both appellations might have been used, but as a matter of fact Buffalo-bird-woman and her brother Wolf-chief only called Hairy-coat "father" when they received a sacred bundle object from him.

Still more instructive are the relations between Packs-wolf and Goodbird. From diagram 2, it appears that Packs-wolf is Goodbird's mother's father's sister's son's daughter's husband = mother's father's daughter's husband = mother's sister's husband = father. On the other hand, Packs-wolf's father was a member of Goodbird's clan, whence the relationship would be reversed, Goodbird becoming Packs-wolf's father. But this is not all. Mrs. Goodbird's sister adopted Packs-wolf's brother, Crow-not-knowing, as her brother, whence Mrs. Goodbird likewise became sister to Crow-not-knowing, all his brothers simultaneously becoming her brothers as well.

Thus, Packs-wolf is a brother of Goodbird's wife and accordingly Goodbird's brother-in-law. As a matter of fact, Goodbird never called Packs-wolf *tatĕ'* but *batsĕ' ec* or *batsĕ' ecia'* because of the clan relationship, which thus took precedence here but for some reasons not in the case of Hairy-coat. Packs-wolf called Goodbird *tatĕ'*, but they might treat each other as brothers-in-law and Mrs. Packs-wolf in speaking to Goodbird about her husband would say, "*nā' atu di' rati ĕ'raha*, "your father your brother-in-law my spouse."

Son-of-star was Goodbird's own father. On the other hand, Goodbird was Son-of-star's father because Goodbird is of the Prairie-chicken clan to which Son-of-star's own father belonged. Goodbird never actually called his father "son"; he was, however, entitled to his share when Son-of-star gave presents to his clan fathers (see p. 40).

Poor-wolf belonged to the same clan as Buffalo-bird-woman's father, and she belongs to Poor-wolf's father's clan. Accordingly, he was both her clan father and also her clan son. Actually, she only called him "father." This may have been due either to his age or to his functioning as a ceremonial father towards her.

With reference to Small-ankle's wife (Buffalo-bird-woman's mother), Poor-wolf also stood in a dual relationship. Since she was wife to a clan brother he might have viewed her as a sister-in-law; actually he never called her *buaka'* but addressed her as *bacā'wi* since she was one of his father's clanswomen.

Buffalo-bird-woman looked upon Cherry-necklace as her brother-in-law because her brother, Painted-yellow, was his brother-in-law. But when another brother, Bear's-necklace, married Cherry-necklace's daughter, Buffalo-bird-woman henceforth regarded him as her father-in-law. In such cases, my informant explained, the relationship of father-in-law takes precedence and thereafter she would not joke with Cherry-necklace any more.

## Kinship Usages.

*Brother and Sister.* As among the Crow, it was not considered proper that an adult brother and sister should hold long conversations together. "If I am married," said Buffalo-bird-woman, "and Wolf-chief visits me with his wife, he talks with my husband and I talk with his wife. If he should come to my house when I am alone, we should settle any business or say anything special we may have to say to each other and then he would leave."

This in no way interferes with their sentiments. "I love Wolf-chief,"

said the same informant, "and he loves me. I have nothing against him in my heart." She always tries to help him and vice versa. When she was little, she took care of him. If he did anything wrong, she scolded him, and if she did anything out of the way she was scolded by him. Until she was ten years of age, they slept together, but later they slept separately and from that time on only spoke to each other when necessary.

Black-horn gave Buffalo-bird-woman many horses, while she gave presents to his wife.

A woman would tan her brother's robes and prepare meals for him. He would exhort his sister not to do anything bad. Neither will say anything suggestive of obscenity in the other's presence.

When there is a dance at which presents are distributed, a sister will ask her brother to give away her own horses. On one occasion Buffalo-bird-woman's brothers thus disposed of seven of her horses.

*Brothers; Mother's Brothers.* An elder brother is the proper person to punish his junior, and when the latter is old enough his senior exhorts him to seek visions, to go to war and earn honor marks, etc.

The relations between a mother's brother and a sister's son (m. sp.) are said to be consistent with the terminological peculiarities noted in a previous section. Wolf-chief treats Goodbird as a younger brother and says his feelings towards him are the same as they were towards Changing-enemy, his deceased younger brother.

*Sisters.* Sisters work together and help each other. Normally, when a younger sister grew up to maturity, she was also married by her elder sister's husband (see p. 46).

*Cousins.* Buffalo-bird-woman laughed outright at the query whether Goodbird might marry Wolf-chief's daughter, i. e., his maternal uncle's daughter, whom he calls "daughter." The idea of a man marrying his daughter! It would be the same as though he were marrying his own child. She had never heard of such a case. People would regard such a married couple as dogs.

After the above, it hardly requires special statement that marriage between parallel cousins was also tabooed.

*Parents and Children.* One of the points in which the Hidatsa differ sharply from the Crow is in the more systematic character of their thinking and acting. Thus, I get the impression that in the education of children the Crow allowed their boys and girls to pick up many things by mere observation which the Hidatsa taught by definite instruction. This is strikingly true in the sphere of religion, where a father would point out to his son each progressive step in the way of sacrifice and prayer which it was proper for him to take.

This leads to a sociologically important point. Among the Hidatsa ceremonialism is highly developed, particularly in connection with certain sacred bundles ("shrines," as Doctor Gilbert L. Wilson calls them). Now, while descent in the clan is strictly matrilineal, as already shown, property rights to the sacred bundles are transmitted exclusively in the paternal line, the method being for children to buy each ceremonial privilege jointly from their own father. It is worth emphasizing that a man does not sell these ceremonial prerogatives to his brother's sons but only to his own, though both types of relatives are classed together in the native kinship nomenclature. In the matter of ceremonial transmission the Hidatsa thus differ strikingly from the Hopi, another matrilineal tribe, among whom ceremonial offices usually descend from maternal uncle to sister's son or from elder to younger brother.

Children are not beaten by their parents. So far as corporal punishment was used at all, it was administered by an elder brother and not so much by blows as by immersion in the Missouri. I have one note, however, to the effect that a mother might punish her own but not her sister's children unless she had adopted them; probably my informant had in mind some mild form of correction.

Until the age of about ten little girls might sleep in the same bed with their fathers; after that they would not do so any more.

*Father's Clan.* In general, it may be said that the father's clansfolk are preëminently the people entitled to receive gifts whenever a proper occasion arises. Possibly connected with this notion is the Hidatsa custom of securing ceremonial articles and privileges from a clan father, who would then be fed for his services. This feature is very prominent in the purchase of membership in the age-societies: men select clan-fathers for their ceremonial "fathers," women clan aunts for their ceremonial "mothers."[1] Funerals were always conducted by members of the clan of the dead person's father. A clan father was always honored by his clan sons and in return he would never reprove them but treated them with kindness.

During a dance Wolf-chief would give presents of calico and blankets or even of horses to his clan aunts. He excelled all his clansmen in the generosity he displayed towards their fathers' clansfolk. Before going to war, he once asked a clan-father to paint his face and put a medicine feather on his head. In the ensuing fight my informant shot and struck an enemy, so he saw that his clan-father had the power to help him. Whenever he had good luck in the chase, he would call in his clan-fathers to give them a feast; and he still invites them when he has anything good to eat. On the

[1] Lowie, (d), 225–228.

other hand, the clan fathers sometimes called Wolf-chief to give him the best of their food. They would also pray to their medicine bundles on his behalf, saying, "This is my son, try to help him."

Buffalo-bird-woman said she tried to give suitable presents to her brother's son and he would give her presents whenever he thought of it but not from any feeling that a return gift must be made.

Father's clansmen were also prominently associated with an individual's names. When a young man had performed a creditable war exploit he would assume some clan father's name, paying its owner for it. The clan father would publicly announce the fact and for a while use his boyhood name until he acquired a new one. Women did not buy new names in this manner, but with men it seems to have been a very common practice under any circumstances. Thus Small-ankle sold one of his names, Spotted-wolf, to a clan son. A man was at liberty to dispose not only of his own name in this way, but also of that of any one of his clansmen. For example, Butterfly gave one of Small-ankle's names Axparā'axic, to their clan son, Hunts-the-enemy; it would not matter in such a case whether Small-ankle were living or dead. When Wolf-chief had struck a coup, his clan-fathers would call him by the name of some famous deceased warrior belonging to their clan; in return my informant gave them horses and property. Wolf-chief's clan-fathers were very kind to him, giving him many names, for which he was envied by his fellow-clansmen. Sometimes these offered to buy some of them, but he refused.

On one occasion Wolf-chief received a name by way of indemnification. When in St. Paul he asked for medicine (whiskey?) in a drug store and received a big bottle, which he put into his bag. On his return, a father's clansman stole it and put back the empty bottle. Wolf-chief said to his clan-fathers, "Well, fathers, some white man must have stolen this bottle." They replied, "Well, son, we'll give you a good name and you will not have to pay for it." Since then he has received many names from them.

A highly characteristic practice shared with the Crow is that of bestowing a nickname derived from an action or peculiarity not connected with the person named but with a member of his father's clan.[1] If a man made some such statement as "My face is Mandan," one of his clansmen might come to one of their clan sons and call him "Mandan-face." Or if a man said to a fellow-clansman, "I have plenty of spotted horses," the latter might call in one of their clan sons and say, "Your name shall be Many-spotted-horses." To take an actual case. A few days before an interview with Wolf-chief, a boy about ten years old entered his store and said, "Well, son,

[1] Lowie, (c), 202, 216.

I have a good name for you,— Packs-iron." He was a member of the Real Water clan to which Wolf-chief's father had belonged and another Real Water was carrying about a lump of iron with which to massage his back, whence the name. The boy said, "I want some candy because I gave you a good name," and Wolf-chief gladly gave him some. On another occasion a clan-father came to Wolf-chief and said, "Son, I want to get some dinner, give me a large can of strawberries, a pear, and some crackers. I want to give you a very good name this time." Wolf-chief brought in what his "father" had asked for, the latter ate some of the food and took along the rest, and before leaving he spoke as follows: "My hip is sore and I am pretty lame. I'll give you the name of Sore-hip, if I do not give you the name, some one else will." Wolf-chief has received many names on account of Butterfly's actions, hence he always treats Butterfly with consideration.

*Grandparents.* Grandparents on both sides love their grandchildren but, oddly enough for a tribe with matrilineal organization, one informant declared that the children belonged more particularly to the father's parents, who took care of them and took them to bed with them. However, according to another statement orphans are cared for by the maternal grandmother.

According to Buffalo-bird-woman, grandmothers and grandchildren through adoption were on a footing of mutual raillery. Thus, her son's wife adopted as her son Rufus, the child of her mother's half-sister's daughter. Buffalo-bird-woman will tell Rufus to make haste and marry "because if you don't get a wife soon, your girl will soon get old." On the other hand when she asked for a looking-glass, Rufus said, "Don't let her have it, she wants to send the reflection to an old man she loves."

## Joking-Relatives.

As among the Crow,[1] individuals whose fathers belonged to the same clan were "joking-relatives" (*maku'tsatsi*). The basic notion of this relationship in its more serious aspects seems to be that of licensed and unrestricted criticism for an infraction of tribal custom. When a man had committed some reprehensible or improper deed, e. g., married a clan mate, or shown jealousy, it was not the function of his fellow-clansmen but of his *maku'tsati* to reprove him or make fun of him. They would spread the news of the wrongdoing and throw it in the offender's teeth and he was obliged to take all this in good part as the prerogative of *maku'tsati*.

[1] Lowie, (c), 204 et seq.

These practices began even in childhood. A girl would reproach another for not knowing how to build an earth-lodge, while one boy would say to another, "I have some honor marks, you have nothing." Sometimes *maku'tsati* played against each other in games.

Joking-relatives addressed one another as brothers and sisters. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, they gave one another presents; for example, Sitting-owl, whom she called younger brother, gave her horses. If a man is wounded in battle, his *maku'tsati* is expected to dismount and save him, otherwise he will get the reputation of a coward.

If a woman had been honorably bought in marriage while her *maku'tsati* had merely eloped with her sweetheart, the former would twit the latter with this difference, saying, "You are a bad woman, no one knows where you sleep with this man, no one knows who your first husband was," or, "You are bad, I am a good woman for I have been bought." If a woman is expert at porcupine quillwork and her *maku'tsati* is not, the former will scoff at the other for her ignorance, saying, *di watski'wits*, "I sew you up," which is the word applied to the sewing up at the end of a piece of quill-work. Similarly, if one woman has done a great deal of tanning, she will make fun of another of inferior skill by saying, "I scrape your back."

Among male fellow-jokers certain peculiar usages were in vogue. A man who has scalped a slain enemy has the right of cutting a *maku'tsati*'s hair, provided the latter has no like feat to his credit or has performed it less frequently. In such a case the hair-cutter pays a horse to his joking-relative. Sometimes the one whose hair is threatened will say, "Give me your wife," then the joker desists, for otherwise he would have to surrender his wife. One who has struck an enemy may whip his *maku'tsati*, always granting that the latter has not done likewise. Hairy-coat said that since he had performed this greatest of war deeds he was exempt from having his hair cut and might knock down with his pipe any one attempting to cut it.

Wolf-chief said that one who has struck an enemy, if angry at his joking-relative, may strike him, prefacing the act with the statement, "Over there I struck an enemy." One who had taken a scalp and cut off his *maku'tsati*'s hair would say,

"batsé' hiri' kā' tsiwa a'ra waru' 'tsic."
"A man of this size his hair I got."

Then he summoned his father's clansfolk, saying, "My fathers (or aunts), come and bury this enemy I have killed, and receive one of my horses." Some clan father or aunt would then come and give a blanket to the man whose hair had been cut. Before the hair-cutting, the man who is

to suffer the indignity designates a horse belonging to his fellow-joker and says, "That's the one you will pay me, and you will give up your wife too."

The other replies, "I'll give you a horse." The one whose hair was to have been cut then takes a stick, strikes his *maku'tsati* and says, "I am using your honor mark because you love your horse and your wife." Then he pays a horse to the man struck. All the other *maku'tsati* deride the one who was afraid to lose his wife and his horse. They say, "Everyone urinates on him, he is no good, he loves his wife. If anyone took her away, I am sure he would try to recover her." This alludes to the very fundamental notion that a man of standing must not be jealous. If his *maku'tsati* asked him for his wife, he was supposed to give her up, or they would jeer him all his life. If he should give her up and take her back again after a few days, he likewise became a laughing-stock.

The relations between male and female fellow-jokers are illustrated by some of Wolf-chief's experiences. When he was a young man, Corn-stalk and Many-women made fun of him. Both of them had made tipi decorations, which accomplishment corresponds to a man's honor marks, while my informant had not yet struck the enemy as first-coup man. Corn-stalk sent him a message, saying "I have finished my tent now and want to pitch it. Wolf-chief is a heavy man, so I shall let him be on the edge of the tent lest the wind blow it away." She made this remark because on account of his war record she considered Wolf-chief inferior to other *maku'tsati*. He sent back word to this effect: "They are right. I'll be glad to weight down their tent. They will give me a horse for that, then I'll take my honor marks on them." Once he went on a war party, which killed two women. He took off their dresses and put their bodies together. "I am going to do this to Corn-stalk and Many-women," he declared, "then I'll give them whatever presents they may name." Wolf-chief did this to the women of the hostile camp. The two fellow-jokers sent back this message: "Brother, we don't want you to do that, we'll never bother you any more." According to old Indian custom, Wolf-chief would have been permitted to carry out his threat.

From a statement of Buffalo-bird-woman's it would appear that those whose fathers belonged to the same moiety were also *maku'tsati*, for she stood in this relationship to her own father, Small-ankle of the miripā'ti clan, since his father had been an i'ticu'xke, i. e., also of the Four-clan moiety. Small-ankle would chaff his daughter, saying to her, "I am a worker; you are lazy." On one occasion, however, she got even. Her father was boasting of his qualities but confessed that he had the fault of being jealous:—

ᵃmī arutsā′wi ici′ɔ̀tats. màtaruxpā′ka, matā′ ixa, ma + ici′ wa
My way is not bad. My relatives, my connections, I make them
nɛ′ cɔ̀ts, mī wā ici′ ɔ̀tāts. mawakī′rɔ̀ makē′ + its mi
nothing bad. I am not stingy I hunt I do it for them. My
arutsā′ wi aru + icí̀ɔ̀ matúts: mī′ + awa'xtɛ̄ īts.
way is bad some: I am jealous."

Punning on the last word, Buffalo-bird-woman asked, "who bet women in gambling so that Small-ankle could win them?": —

"tapē′wa mī′ɔ̀ aru + ɛ′ᵃ hɛwa, na′xte + ī'?
"Who is it that women (obj.) bet, you won?"

A woman who was present laughed at this sally, and Small-ankle was ashamed and said no more.

The following myth is told about the ancient practising of the custom.

First-maker [2] (I′ tsi 'ka -wā′ hirie) and Spotted-tail [3] (Tsī′ ta-xa'xi) were *maku'-tsati* and were always watching each other. First-maker hid his food several times and Spotted-tail appropriated it. One day Spotted-tail took all his food and roasted it. First-maker roasted some prairie-dogs and then went to sleep. So Spotted-tail took them out and ate them, burying the bones. First-maker woke up, tracked Spotted-tail and found him asleep. Taking his knife, he cut open his back, cut out his guts and stuffed them with grass. Then he said, "Friend, get up and eat!" He offered him his own guts. Spotted-tail ate his guts and found the taste good. At length First-maker said, "Why, you have eaten your own guts!" "What are you saying?" Then the grass came out of him.

One day First-maker roasted geese. He fell asleep. Spotted-tail ate up all the geese and buried the bones. First-maker tracked him into a thick wood. When he got there, he wished to kill him. He pondered where to hit Spotted-tail, "If I hit him in the head, then there'll be some blood when I eat him. If I hit his backbone, it will be the same way. If I break his legs, there will also be blood." In the meantime Spotted-tail woke up and ran away. First-maker could not catch him, he came back to the same place. "I ought to have done this way to him," he said. He struck the ground with a stick, breaking the stick and hitting himself.

One day First-maker was running after some bone grease. It jumped into the water. First-maker watched for it to come out. The water was all greasy. First-maker had no dipper and was looking about for some hair to use instead. He thought he had better cut off his tail. He did so, but in the meantime Spotted-tail had already used the hair on his feet to dip up all the grease, so First-maker had cut off his tail for nothing. First-maker said, "I always want to do what is right for my *maku'tsati* is always watching me."

This was the beginning of the *maku'tsati* custom.

[1] mic woman, *mɛxtits*, I win in gambling.

[2] The Hidatsa hero-trickster.

[3] This animal I was unable to identify; Goodbird said it was extinct in the region inhabited by the Hidatsa.

## Marriage.

The Hidatsa and Crow agree in considering marriage by purchase as the most honorable form from the woman's point of view; but among the Hidatsa I got the impression, which I did not receive among the Crow, that it was somewhat discreditable for a man to have to buy a wife. Thus, if one man had married his sweetheart without such formality and a *maku'-tsati* who had bought a woman made any comment on his appearance, he might reply, "I am a good-looking man, you bought a woman because you are ugly," and this silenced the joker.

Great stress is laid in nomenclature on whether a wife has been previously married (p. 34), and I found that such a woman was married without purchase and without aid from any one else. When a young man bought a girl, his parents gave horses to her parents and vice versa, the return gift being sometimes of greater value.[1] Only a woman who had not been previously married was allowed to receive sacred objects for her husband in the transfer of medicine bundle prerogatives.

As regards residence, there does not seem to have been an absolute rule, but apparently in the beginning the young couple generally took up their abode with the wife's parents, the husband acting as their servant and providing them with food. If he wished to give away a horse, he would ask permission through his wife. The wife's parents treated him kindly during this period and if they had a horse to spare they would give it to their daughter. When there was issue from the union, the man became independent and might do as he pleased without asking leave.

The orthodox form of polygamous marriage was for a man to marry his first wife's younger sisters, this term being sometimes used in a classificatory sense. The native theory is that two wives who were not so related were likely to quarrel. The special term *iri' kuðts* (plural, *iri' kuowatu'*) is used for fellow-wives who do not get along with each other (see p. 35). Yellow-head and Cherry-woman, who were not sisters, were both married to Small-ankle. One day they quarreled. Yellow-head asked her mother to give Small-ankle her younger sisters for wives. "Then," she said, "I am sure Small-ankle will throw Cherry-woman away." Accordingly, Small-ankle married four younger sisters, three of them being full sisters and the fourth her mother's adopted daughter. Bears-looking had five wives,— Otter, Root, Large, Juneberry, and Corn-woman, of whom the first four were sisters. All of them stayed together for a long time. Sisters who are fellow-wives do not dispute but help one another.

[1] Cf. Matthews, 52.

In spite of the considerable looseness which prevailed among the Hidatsa a pure woman was highly esteemed. "If a woman was good and kind, her husband loved her whether she had been previously married or not." "My husband never punished me, and I never fought him. We both lived well together. I was never foolish or bad, my husband knew it and never got angry. Some husbands nearly killed their wives because they went with other men."

It should be noted that to exhibit jealousy publicly was to expose oneself to ridicule at the hands of the *maku'tsati*. If a man eloped with a married woman, the husband might whip the adulterer, who was not permitted to strike back, and would make it hard for his wife after taking her back. But the jokers would make fun of the husband for his actions. Apparently the proper or at least ideal course was for the husband to let his wife go without protest. On this point my data entirely corroborate Matthews's statements.[1]

In case of a divorce the children remained with the mother and ceased to call their own father by that kinship term, which was transferred to their mother's husband if she remarried. However, the real father's clansmen remained the children's clan-fathers.

The levirate was in vogue, but a man who availed himself of its privileges might be derided by his *maku'tsati*, who would say, "You are like a bad-looking man, you are keeping your brother's wife, you could not get a woman otherwise." But the people at large regarded marriage with a deceased brother's wife as perfectly proper.

## Attitude toward Relatives by Marriage.

*Parents-in-law.* The son-in-law at first occupies a position of inferiority with reference to his wife's parents, his status being somewhat that of a hired man, to use my interpreter's analogy. His status becomes one of independence, however, when children are born.

There is a taboo against social intercourse between the son-in-law on the one hand and his wife's father, her father's brothers and sisters, her mother, mother's sisters and grandmothers on the other. To put it more accurately, a man does not hold conversation with those persons whom his wife addresses as *i'ka'*, *bacā'wi*, *taté'*, and *maku'*. Parents-in-law and son-in-law never pronounced each other's names and were not permitted to use any word that entered into the names. The taboo is said by one witness to have held

[1] Matthews, 54.

and by another to have lapsed after the wife's death; but I learned of no case in which a woman adopted a deceased daughter's husband as a son by way of effacing the restrictions, though instances of this type were noted among the Crow. The rule of avoidance was not so strict between a man and his wife's father as with his mother-in-law, and in the case of an important happening the ordinary rule was broken, the father-in-law being addressed as "old man" and addressing his daughter's husband as son. In the old days there was only one way of abolishing the mother-in-law regulation, which was also noted by Maximilian for both the Hidatsa and Mandan.[1] Once Wolf-chief went against the Dakota, struck a coup as the third man, and cut off the scalp, which he saved. When he got home, he called out to his wife's mother, "Mother, I have brought you a scalp." She replied, "Thank you, son, I am glad to receive it." Thereafter he was permitted to converse with both his parents-in-law. As will be seen presently, this liberty was optional. If the son-in-law had not brought home a scalp, he would not even face towards his mother-in-law; if they accidentally approached each other, they would get scared and go out of each other's way.

Two concrete instances illustrate the native point of view with regard to these observances, which are considered indicative of respect and in no way of animosity. Buffalo-bird-woman's husband brought two scalps for her mother but never availed himself of the privilege of disregarding the rule of avoidance: "He honored her too much." Another case is, if anything, even more instructive. Joe Packineau is married to an Arikara woman, whose tribe does not observe the avoidance rule. On one occasion her mother spoke to Joe in the presence of some of his Hidatsa friends, who were very much shocked and said, "What's the matter with your mother-in-law, Joe? She does not seem to have any respect for you at all!"

If the parents-in-law wished to direct their son-in-law to do something, they would employ the third person plural. Thus, to an ordinary person they would say, "*mi'ri ruwa' aaku'*," "Water some bring" (2nd person imperative), but if they wanted their daughter's husband to go on this errand they substituted, "*mi'ri ruwa' aakra' hu tā'pȯk'*," "Water some they bring should."

*Daughter-in-law.* A daughter-in-law is well treated by her husband's parents. They give her good clothes and good things to eat. If they abused her, the people would disapprove of it.

*Brothers-in-law.* Brothers-in-law love each other. A man will present his sister's husband with a gun and horses, and on the other hand receives

[1] Maximilian, II, 132.

game from his wife's brother, as well as horses captured on a war expedition. When a man recites his coups, he will say, "I captured a horse and gave it to my brother-in-law."

As already noted, a man may jestingly refer to his wife's brother as his wife and is in turn called husband. This mode of address is used on the battlefield. If a wounded man catches sight of his sister's husband, he will say, "Husband, I am getting killed." Then his brother-in-law, if a brave man, will give help or even die with his wife's brother. Unless he did so, his brother-in-law would jeer at him for his cowardice, saying, "My husband is like a woman, he left me alone." A man who has captured a horse will say to his wife's brother, "My wife, take this horse." Otherwise his brother-in-law will say, "My husband got enemy's horses but did not give me any, he is bad!" If a man's wife's brothers capture horses while he himself does not, he is ashamed because his "wives" are braver than himself. If a man is sent out by his war party to get water of a dark night, his wife's brother may say, "He calls me 'wife,' yet he is more afraid than I am." When sent for water by one's "wife," a man cannot refuse to go.

*Sisters-in-law.* The brother's wife (w. sp.) and the husband's sister stand on a footing of equality. They give presents to each other and poke fun at each other without any resentment. Buffalo-bird-woman often received clothing from her brother's wife and several times presented her with horses.

*Man and Brother's Wife.* If a man died, he would bequeath his wife to his younger or elder brother, even if she was older than the legatee. Certain aspects of this levirate marriage are discussed under another heading.

Doubtless in connection with these marital rights, a man was permitted to exhibit considerable freedom in intercourse with his brother's wife. He might play with her and use funny words in order to make her laugh. However, he did not actually exercise marital rights while his brother was still living.

Brother-in-law and sister-in-law laugh at each other and try to make each other ashamed. If there was an ill-favored girl in camp, Buffalo-bird-woman would say that that was Bad-brave's sweetheart. He would declare that some bad-looking man was her husband or was courting her.

A woman makes moccasins for her husband's brother; he gives her a dress or blanket and money he has won at gambling.

*Man and Wife's Sisters.* In the old days a man who married the eldest daughter of a family had a preëmptive right to her younger sisters as they grew up. Even now Goodbird may treat his wife's sisters with great familiarity and may make fun of them, chaffing them about their husbands and sweethearts.

*Wife's Brother's Wife.* Unlike the Crow,[1] the Hidatsa have no taboo against social relations between a man and his wife's brother's wife. They talk freely and are expected to treat each other kindly and not cheat each other. There is mutual respect and accordingly no undue familiarity.

## Comrades.

Men would pair off as *ī raku'ə*, comrades. They would go on the war-path together and neither concealed anything he did from the other.[2] Hunts-alone, of the Knife clan is Goodbird's comrade. *ī kooxpa'* is the corresponding term used by a woman for her female confidante. Every girl had a special friend of this type, from whom she would not keep secret any of her love affairs or anything her lover said.

## Names.

When a child was about ten days old, the parents would ask some relative owning a medicine bundle to name it. Names designating parts of the bear's body were very common.

Buffalo-bird-woman (waxī'ri wi'ə́c) was at first named by Âru wiri'tsa'kic (Watery-mush?), one of her grandmother's brothers, who was possessed of supernatural powers. He called her Ōruwi'tsakī'c, "When-he-goes-he-always-has-good-luck." But she was often sick in infancy, so her father gave her a new name to make her strong. Goodbird was so named by his maternal grandfather, Small-ankle, who had a bird for his medicine.

The importance attached by the Hidatsa to new names and their connection with the functions of the father's clan mates have been discussed under another heading (p. 41).

There is no taboo against the use of a dead person's name. That of a famous warrior may be conferred on a young man who has distinguished himself and people are glad to hear it again.[3]

A few additional facts are noted by Matthews. According to him, a male infant sometimes received as many as four names composed of the same noun with different adjectives; but only one of these was commonly used.

In after years, the names of the males are changed once, or oftener, or rather new names are given; for they will be called as often by the old names as by the new.

[1] Lowie, (c), 214.
[2] Lowie, (c), 212.
[3] Cf. Matthews, 55.

The first new name is usually given to a youth after he has first struck an enemy in battle. The names of women are rarely changed. Sometimes, if a name is long, a part of it only is used in ordinary conversation.

Matthews found bashfulness about telling one's name less highly developed among the Hidatsa than with other tribes: some individuals would answer reluctantly or refer the questioner to another person who might give the required information.[1] Maximilian states that when an infant is to be named the father goes on a buffalo hunt. When he returns, he packs from ten to twelve large pieces of meat on his back, putting his child on top. Staggering under the load, he goes to the medicineman who is to name the child and presents him with the meat as his fee.[2]

## Burial.

The burial practices of the Hidatsa are sociologically interesting because of the prominence assumed by the father's clansmen. This feature seems to have been absent among the Crow.

Before the death of a person either he himself or one of his relatives appoints one of the patient's clan-fathers or aunts to conduct the funeral. The individual designated collects all the dying person's old clothes and receives some of his property as his fee. This might consist of either horses or guns, these being considered of equivalent value in the old days. Some property was saved for the widow. For example, the tipi might be kept and the earth-lodge always was. It was considered miserly for the master of ceremonies to keep all his fee for himself; most Hidatsa in this position would distribute gifts among their friends.

When the patient's death was approaching, the father's clansman who directed the proceedings, washed and painted his clan son's face and dressed him up as though in preparation for a visit to other people; marks indicative of his war honors were put on the dying man. When he had breathed his last, the family and also the master of ceremonies gashed their arms and legs with sharp flint knives, cut off their hair and some of the finger-joints, and sometimes stabbed their heads with an awl or knife so that the blood would flow down. All the father's clansfolk wept over their lost "son." The corpse, stretched out on a robe, was formally borne to the graveyard by four or more clan-fathers or aunts.

Wolf-chief says that two modes of burial were in vogue and the one preferred by the dying man was followed. One method was that of actual

[1] *ibid.*, 54 f.
[2] Maximilian, II, 217.

interment, the director digging a pit into which the body was lowered. Pieces of wood were placed on top and the hole was filled in with earth. The second way was scaffold burial, in which case four forked posts were set in the ground and the corpse was secured by means of ropes. Maximilian mentions both forms of burial but according to him it was only the bad people who quarrel and kill one another that were interred. In this case a buffalo skull was laid on the grave lest the herds should move away and fail to return when they scented the wicked persons. The good were placed on stages so that the Master of Life might see them.[1]

In depositing the body the clan father thus addressed it: "My son, do not look backwards but go to the ghost land. You will meet many of your beloved ones there. You must not expect us, your family are remaining here. Go alone. We are poor." This speech sends the spirit to the land of ghosts. If some person not a clan father spoke thus, the spirit would not go to the ghost land but would get lost. When the corpse had been buried, the director of ceremonies took some sage, rubbed it into a ball and gave it to each person who had touched the corpse in order to ward off illness from all concerned.

[1] Maximilian, II, 235.

# SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CROW.

## Clans.

Later investigation has established the essential correctness of the data presented in my former publication. That is to say, the Crow were divided into thirteen exogamous matrilineal clans linked together in six loose phratries, most if not all of which were non-exogamous.

In an unusually careful study of my earlier paper[1] Doctor Goldenweiser has suggested that the Crow, like the Hidatsa, once possessed the dual organization. Its absence is of course one of the striking cultural traits of the Crow when compared with their next of kin, as I have myself pointed out. I was at one time inclined to explain the difference by assuming that the Hidatsa adopted their moiety system from the Mandan. For reasons given, which I admit are not decisive, I now rather favor the hypothesis that the Hidatsa moieties are older than those of the Mandan. This view lends somewhat greater *a priori* plausibility to the one-time existence of the dual division among the Crow. Nevertheless, the fact remains that of any such organization no trace is perceptible.

The etymologies of the clan names, which owing to the sometimes extraordinary contraction of words, were not always correctly rendered in my earlier publication, are given below in accordance with the latest interpretations secured.

1. a'cirā rī'o; acɛ', lodge; hirā', just now; rī'o, they made. Newly-made Lodge.
2. acitsi'te; acɛ', lodge; citsi'te, thick. Thick Lodge.
3. acī' oce; acɛ, lodge; ī, lip, mouth; ō'ce, cooked, scalded. Sore-lip Lodge.
4. ū'wutace'; ū'wu, the inside of the mouth; tacé, greasy. Greasy inside the mouth.
5. ū'sawatsiə̄; ū, they shoot, hit; sa, not; batsi'ə̄, to hunt, bring game. Without shooting they bring game.
6. xu'xkaraxtse'; xu'xka, in a knot; daxtse', to tie. Tied in a knot.
7. acpéñuce; acɛ, lodge; pɛ̄'re, filth; dū'ce, to eat. Filth-eating Lodge.
8. ɛ̄' rarapīo; ɛ̄'re, belly; arapī' o, they kick. Kicked in the Belly.

[1] Goldenweiser, 281–294.

9. ack·a′pkawi‘∂; ack·a′pe, war honor; xawi′∂, bad. Bad War Honors.
10. biri k·ō′ oce; birɛ′, water; k‘ō′ oce, to whistle. Whistling Water.
11. acxatse′; acɛ′, lodge; xatse′, streak. Streaked Lodge.
12. ack·ā′mne; acɛ′, lodge; k‘ā′mne, Piegan. Piegan Lodge.
13. a‘cbatcu′∂; acɛ, lodge; batcu′∂, awl, treacherous. Treacherous Lodge.

There was hitherto some doubt, which cannot yet be resolved, as to whether the ack·ā′mne and the a‘cbatcu′∂ were distinct clans or whether these were merely two names for the same division.[1] According to Hillside they were distinct, intermarried, and like other linked clans gave mutual aid: —

"ack·ā′mne a‘cbatcu′∂ bats-áxpuk‘,
"The Piegan clan the Treacherous clan each other they married,
bats-k′uxsū′k‘."
each other they helped."

Though Ū′uciec denied this, saying that ack·ā′mne and a‘cbatcu′∂ were only two of four different names applied to the same clan, he gave corresponding testimony respecting several other linked clans. The a‘cirā-rī′o and acitsi′te, he said, "*rū′pe* + *uk*, *dū′pta*, *wats* — *a′xpa‘kūk‘*, i. e., "They are two, separate, they intermarried continually." He made the same statement for the ū′wutace‘ and acī′ oce; the acpénuce, xu′xkaraxtse, ū′sawatsi‘∂; and the ērarapī‘o and ack·ápkawi‘∂. On the other hand, he asserted that the acxatse′, birik·ō′ oce, tsi‘pawaī′itse and acbatsī′rice were only several names for a single clan.

In short, the evidence remains contradictory as to the same two groups as before,[2] while the distinctness of the linked clans in the four other divisions may be considered as definitely established.

There are several versions of a tale recounting a conflict between the ack·ā′mne and birik·ō′oce.

Like the Abderites among the Greeks and the natives of Schilda in German folklore, the people of the Bad War Honor (ack·ápkawí∂) clan enjoy the reputation of proverbial stupidity. The people say, "*ack·ápkawi∂ warā′ruk‘*," "The Bad War Honors are crazy." A few anecdotes were retailed to illustrate their folly.

Once they were all camped together when the Piegan attacked them. The men and women all took to the woods except for one young man who climbed a tree. The enemy at first did not see him. After a while they cut up a tipi near-by. One of them opened a bag and took out some buck-

[1] Lowie, (c), 192.
[2] Lowie, (c), 194.

skin. The man hiding said, "Don't take that, the owner is no good."[1] Then the Piegan caught sight of him and killed him.

On another occasion an ack·áp kawíð saw another Crow wearing beaded buckskin leggings with red fringes. He asked how they had been made. The owner told him to take the leggings to his wife and have her cut them after the same pattern, then he should kill a buffalo, bring its bones home, boil them till the grease rose to the top, cool the grease, plunge his leggings into it and place them under his bed on the ground. "The next morning, when you get up, they will be just like mine." The ack ápkawíð followed these directions, but when he got up the next morning his leggings were so greasy that he did not know what to do with them; he hung them up and sent for his adviser. When the man saw the leggings he gave him his own.

Magpie, who was still living at the time the tale was told about him, once took a Crow of his own age for a Piegan and invited him to his house by means of gestures, asking how long he had been on the Reservation. It was only when the supposed foreigner spoke in Crow that Magpie found out his mistake. He could not do anything about it for he had already given him food. The reason for his misunderstanding was that he had seen someone else making signs to this Crow. On another occasion Magpie wished to call Lewis Moccasin by name but instead he uttered his own Crow name *ā'k'e wirð xbā'k'e*, "Indian." Magpie's wife has told other people that her husband once put on his moccasins on the wrong side and never noticed it till his attention was called thereto. My interpreter has heard people say that Magpie once tried to strike mice with a pitchfork but struck his own foot. In talking about Magpie the Crow were wont to say, "*ack·áp kawikā'ce*," "He is a genuine ack·ápkawíð," (kā'ce is the superlative suffix).

In accordance with the Crow and Hidatsa custom of giving nicknames for peculiarities evinced by one's father's clansfolk (p. 41) the Crow are in the habit of throwing into a person's teeth the fact that his father is of the notoriously foolish clan. When a boy whose father is an ack·ápkawíð does something silly, people say, "He is one of those who told the enemy not to take the buckskin," or, "He is one of those who boiled their leggings." Medicine-crow's real father was an ack·ápkawíð. When Medicine-crow has done anything wrong his wife scoffs at him, saying, "*irúpxembicè ack·ápkqwa'u — racèn.*" "He has the Bad Honors for fathers, that is why." This seems to correspond exactly to our saying, "That's the Irish of it."

It was principally a man's wife, his brothers' or clan-brothers' wives,

[1] Meaning presumably, that it was dangerous to trifle with his property.

and his joking-relatives who made fun of him for being a typical ack·ápkawíə. Gray-bull did not make fun of Magpie because Magpie's son, Yellow-brow, was Gray-bull's son-in-law.

The custom of giving presents to father's clansmen was described in my earlier paper. I have since repeatedly obtained a traditional justification of the usage, the same motive being always apparent. A brief version follows.

> Three young men were friends. They said, "Let us do something. To one they said, "Do you frequently build sweatlodges and go into them." To the second they said, "Give presents to the Sun all the time." To the third they said, "Always give food to your *d'sa 'ke*. "They were going to see who would live longest. The one who gave presents to the Sun became a chief but he was the first to be killed. The one who built sweatlodges was killed when he was only fairly old. But the one who entertained his father's clansmen lived to be very old. Since then we have given food to our clan-fathers. We never passed in front of them unless we had previously given them a present.

Young-crane thought marrying into her father's clan was as bad as marrying into her own, for then she would call her husband "father." Accordingly, though she was sought in marriage by acĭ'oce men she declined to have anything to do with them. However, she added that women did marry father's clansmen provided they were not closely related. This agrees essentially with previous information.[1]

## Terms of Relationship.

Further study has convinced me of the correctness of a statement made in my previous publication, viz., that nothing short of a perfect knowledge of the Crow language suffices to ensure an absolutely trustworthy and complete description of the Crow kinship terminology. However, I have been able by repeated inquiries and, still more important, by direct observation in the field and examination of texts recorded by myself, to revise and amplify my original account.[2]

The most serious error in my former list relates to the designation of the father's sister's children, who are not classed with brothers and sisters but are set in the first ascending generation,— the sons of the paternal aunt with the father and her daughters with herself. In short, Crow usage coincides in this respect with that of the Hidatsa. My error seems the less pardonable because the essential facts had already been grasped by Morgan.

[1] Lowie, (c), 201.
[2] Lowie, (c), 207 et seq.

A painstaking analysis of my old data on Crow nomenclature has been published by Doctor A. A. Goldenweiser,[1] who rightly criticised my method of objective enumeration of meanings, which made no attempt at bringing out the rationale of the system. Though I am very appreciative of the care this author has devoted to the examination of my list, I am unable to accept as valid any of his other comments of a theoretical nature. For one thing, the Crow system is not based on a single principle of classification but on a number of disparate and in part contradictory principles. Thus, the occurrence of a specific term for the paternal aunt in the absence of a correlative for the nephew or niece is an inconsistency. While certain portions of the nomenclature undoubtedly form organic units, this certainly does not apply to the entire series and accordingly it seems wrong to generalize that "the principles of classification on which such systems rest always prove exceedingly simple and, as soon as revealed, serve to coördinate the apparently complex series of terms." Secondly, Doctor Goldenweiser arbitrarily excludes a number of terms on the ground that they are "not terms of relationship," among them *bachi'ə*, my fellow-clanswoman, literally, "my woman." The fact is that most of these terms are actually applied by the natives as terms of relationship and the phonetic equivalent of the one cited is the regular Hidatsa word for elder sister (m. sp.). Further, a combination of stems rejected by Doctor Goldenweiser is the normal way of referring to a son or daughter non-vocatively. Doctor Goldenweiser cannot seriously suggest the elimination of all terms of which the etymological derivation is established. Thirdly, I have never succeeded in grasping the advantage of the diagrammatic form of presentation used by Doctor Goldenweiser and other Americanists. If I adopted any scheme of this sort, I should prefer that of J. O. Dorsey in his tabulation of the Omaha system; but I do not consider this indispensable. Finally, I am obliged to challenge the method of reconstructing the pristine Crow system without a consideration of all other available Siouan terminologies or those of other tribes historically connected with the Crow. Conclusions based solely on the Crow list necessarily suffer from excessive rationalization and must be purely speculative. Thus, Doctor Goldenweiser contends that because man and woman use diverse terms for the father, there must once have been a similar dichotomy in the designation of the mother. Yet Professor Kroeber long ago pointed out that the majority of Indian categories are expressed only in part of their nomenclatures and that complete consistency in this respect would involve a monstrous wealth of terminology. Similarly, how many Indian tongues consistently discriminate the sex of the speaker in all the designa-

[1] 288 et seq.

tions of elder and younger *Geschwister*? It is, therefore, simply an instance of the rationalistic fallacy to infer the former existence of separate male and female terms for elder sister and younger brother from the corresponding sex-discrimination in dealing with the elder brother and younger sister.

In order to comprehend the Crow system a number of linguistic points must be understood.

*batsɛ'* is the regular word for "man," *bī'ə* for "woman," *dā'k(ɛ)* for "child," the suffix *kā'ta* has a diminutive meaning with the secondary sense of endearment, while *kari'cta* rather indicates mature youth (*bī'akā'ta*, "girl," *bī'akari'cta*, "young woman"). *kā'ᵃre* is the normal expression for "old woman," *isé* (*isá*) means "big, old" and an obvious derivative, *isā''ka* is the word for "old man;" *batə* is the reciprocal prefix.

As to the use of pronouns with stems, certain differences are worth noting. A number of vocative terms, e. g., *azɛ'*, "father," entirely lack a pronominal prefix. In perhaps a majority of cases there is contraction of the possessive pronouns, *bas-*, *dis-*, *is-*, which are ordinarily used with vocables other than those of relationship, by eliminating the final *s*. Thus, we find *barā'ace*, *dirā'ace*, *irā'ace* for the brother-in-law term. Sometimes the simple stem has a potential third person possessive meaning and cannot take the prefix *i*, while the other persons merely prefix *b* and *d*. Thus, we have *búa*, *dúa*, *úa*, the last form meaning both "his wife" and "wife" in the abstract. On the other hand, the ordinary possessives are employed in some cases, e. g., *basbā'zíə*, *dísbāzi'ə*, *isbā'zíə*, "paternal aunt." In at least two cases where the simple stem has a potential third-person meaning, the second person is formed not with *di* but with *da*, viz., *datsire*, "your husband," *darā'ke*, "your child."

In a number of cases the change from vocative to non-vocative coincides with a change of terminal *a* to *e*. This usage is not without correspondence in other departments of the language. Thus, the culture-hero, Isā''kawuðte, is addressed as "Isā' 'kawuðtà."

Phonetically, it is necessary to note that initial *b* and *m*, which I preserve in accordance with my previous orthography represent a single phonetic element,— weakly nasalized *b*; further, that this sound regularly becomes *w* in intervocalic position.

As regards Crow-Hidatsa correspondences, the most striking ones have been correctly summarized by Matthews[1]: Crow *c* or *s* is the equivalent of Hidatsa *t*; Crow *n* of Hidatsa *dɪ*; Crow *k* of Hidatsa *ts*.

There are certain generic expressions for relatives, the precise delimita-

[1] 78 et seq.

tion of which is not easy. In asking a person what his relationship is to another, the approved query is: *diri' cō'ʻta?* "Your relative what sort of?" The same root is employed in the worst insult that can be hurled at a Crow: *di ak-irí'-hāwè*, "You are one whose relatives are non-existent (destroyed)." [1] I do not remember hearing this stem used with the first person pronoun. Another commonly used expression is *birɔ̀xbā'ke*, the normal word for "person" and "people"; it seems to me to be used very freely, as Americans use the word "folks." Linguistically, it may be noted that the unabbreviated pronominal forms, such as are prefixed to vocables other than relationship terms, are used with this word. We find, e. g., *batś-iś-birɔ̀xbā'kua*, "They are one another's relatives." In prayer a man will say, "*baś-birɔ̀xbā'ke ítse awī'rupe awā'wi*," "My people (obj.) safely (to) the next year may I bring them." The expression was used to denote the relationship between linked clans: the ɛrarapī'u and ack·ápkawī'a were said to be *iś-birɔ̀xbā'kua*, one of the other. Exactly the same meaning was ascribed to another word *sā'pe*, which interrogatively means "what?" declaratively "something," the idea being apparently that relatives are "something" to one another. Thus, the acítsíte and acirārī'o were said to be *batś-isā'puk*, "reciprocally their relatives they are." The statement was added that *sā'pe* is applicable to one's own as well as to the linked clan. Another authority extended it to the father's clan. Another interrogative, *cō'ʻta*, occurs with a similar generic meaning of relationship. In a myth both these words occur in close juxtaposition: *isā'pu rɔ̀k ak-batś-icō'ʻta-kāci'-rɔ̀k a'sū'rɔ̀k'*; "Their relatives and those who were very closely related many had died." Here the idea of closeness is not embodied in the stem but in the usual superlative suffix *kāci*.

## Terms of Consanguinity.

*Speaker's Generation.* In order to avoid repetition, I state at the outset that as in Hidatsa nomenclature parallel cousins are brothers and sisters while cross-cousins are placed in other generations. Male clansfolk are brothers, female members of one's clan and generation are sisters.

bī'ik·a (m. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, mother's mother's brother. I doubt whether my earlier statement that this term was applied to a maternal uncle, whether older or younger, holds, for it seems to designate fundamentally relative seniority of the person denoted; obviously in most cases the uncle would be older than the nephew.

[1] Cf. Lowie, (c), 245.

matsū'ka. My younger brother (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's son (m. sp.), [sister's husband younger than myself (w. sp.)].

basa'kā'ᵉta (m. sp., w. sp.). My elder sister. This word is clearly a derivative from *masa'ké*, "my mother," and the diminutive suffix; in other words its literal meaning is "little mother."

bàsa'tsī'ita (m. sp.). My younger sister, sister's daughter.

basā'ᵉre (w. sp.). My elder brother, mother's brother, mother's mother's brother, [husband's brother].

basō'ᵒka (w. sp.). My younger sister.

makú kata (m. sp., w. sp.). My elder sister, [brother's wife older than I]. This word is possibly restricted to vocative use. In both senses the proper vocative correlative is *xū'ᵘtse*, though this word perhaps more frequently means "daughter" than either "younger sister" or "younger sister-in-law." I believe that *makú kāta* is the diminutive survival of the Hidatsa word *makú*, "my grandmother."

bakúpe (m. sp., w. sp.). My brother or sister. This term may be applied to fellow-clansfolk, as when a man who has married within the clan is spoken of: "*akúpe áxpɛc*," "He has married his sister." But this strikes me as deliberate extension of the original meaning for the purpose of emphasizing the impropriety of non-exogamous unions. According to Shell-necklace, brothers and sisters sharing at least one parent, moreover the children of two brothers and two sisters were *bats-akúpuð*, while mere clansmen were one another's *bāsā'ᵉpe* (see p. 59). Flat-back went so far as to limit the term *akúpe* to persons sharing both parents, but this was challenged by all other informants.

*bacbatsɛ'* and *bacbī'ð*, "my man" and "my woman," are used generically for own and clan *Geschwister*, regardless of relative seniority. Thus, in describing the proper form of marriage an informant said that the bride's brothers, *ic-batsɛ'-o*, received horses. It was said that *bacbī'ð* is not used of little girls if they are own sisters but may be applied in any case to more remote "sisters," and that the term was used preferentially for adoptive and clan sisters.

In addressing a younger brother, or perhaps any other younger male relative, the terms *cik·á* (*-ake*), "boy" and *barā'ax(a)*, "crazy one" are sometimes employed. Correspondingly, mī'akā'te, "girl", is used for a younger sister or female relative.

The *Geschwister* nomenclature is well illustrated in mythological texts. In the Bear-woman tale there figure two sisters and their six brothers. The younger girl calls her elder sister *maku' kā'ta* and is in turn addressed as *xū'ᵘtse*. On the other hand, the more common terms for elder or younger sister repeatedly occur in non-vocative usage. Thus, the brothers say to the little girl, *diá 'kā'te k'u*, "To your elder sister give it;" and in defining

the little girl's age the narrator said, pointing to his own grandchild, *isō'kē ĭ'mbe kara-k'ukĭ' imā'tsik*, "Her younger sister may have been of the size of that one." From this it might be inferred that *basa'kā'ᵉta* and *basō'ᵉka* are merely non-vocative stems. But since they were given to me in precisely this form, i. e., with the vocative ending, I believe that they are correct vocative terms which may be transformed to the non-vocative by change of final *a* to *e*; and that *maku' kā'ta* and *xū'utse* are simply supplementary and optional vocative forms.

In the same myth the customary word is regularly used for a female's elder brother. Thus, the girl says, *masā'ré, dā'raxta sūpa*? "Elder brother, don't you know what (it is)?" And non-vocatively we find, *isā'rc i + a'-kawu'rðk dúxira + u'tseru'k*, "Her elder brothers, six of them, had gone on a war party." On the other hand, the girl, probably on account of her youth, is addressed as *bī'akā'te*, "girl," but referred to by the usual specific term, e. g., *isa'tsī'tucc isā'cg·ekäckā'tbici'tseruk*, "Their younger sister had a little dog, it is said." When the wicked sister sees that she is getting the worst of the contest, she tries softer measures, saying to the little girl, *dī bakúpkā't bā' + ic*, "You (as) my little sister I'll treat." Here the diminutive probably has rather the sense of endearment, as it undoubtedly has in another myth where adults are thus addressed. *bakúpkā'ta, bī watseck·ā't'*, "My dear brothers and sisters, I am poor." This example incidentally illustrates the vocative use of the term.

The usual words for elder and younger brother (w. sp.) constantly occur in the texts. In the tale of a wicked brother-in-law who had plotted to eat his elder brother's wife, the woman, after saving her husband from starvation, thus addresses him: *ditsū'kc bī rū'cbið-sā'-rðk, ku' awō'rðk', īrī'ᵐmā'tsik*, "Your younger brother if he had not wished to eat me, him also I should have brought with me, he would be living." In accordance with the usual inclusiveness of Indian terms and the disinclination to employ proper names in address, we find these terms extended to individuals where there is no evidence of blood-kinship. In the tradition of the separation of the Crow and Hidatsa, a member of the aggrieved party enters the chief's lodge and says, *bī'ik·a, ba'mdī-watsirē' wi'awak'*, "Elder brother, I want to tell you something." In an Old-Man-Coyote tale the trickster meets a buffalo calf, which he at once regards as his younger brother: *batsū'k hiñe'm batseck·ā't'*, "This younger brother of mine is poor;" in turn the calf addresses him as follows, *bī'ᵐk·a, k'an-dapácēk·*, "My elder brother, you are tired now." Similarly, in asking some ducks to dive for land, Old-Man-Coyote addresses them as *matsū' kā'tu*, "My dear younger brothers."

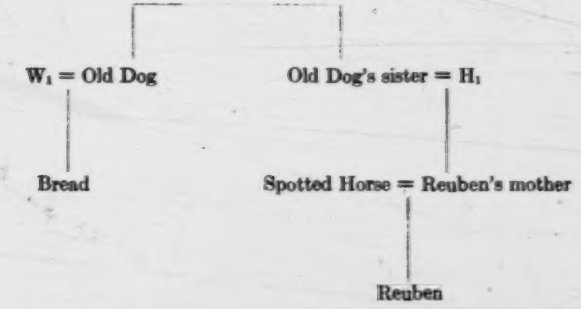
It is interesting to find that in the story of the twin boys the heroes uniformly address each other as *barā'ᵉx(a)*, "Crazy one."

*cik·á*, of the same stem as *cik·ā'ᵉkc*, "boy," is not necessarily limited to

relatives but seems to be a friendly greeting between males. For example, in the myth of the Bungling Host, Old-Man-Coyote thus addresses the Owl.

Since the son of a Crow's paternal aunt is addressed as a father the father's sister's son's son is a "brother," and the father's sister's son's daughter a "sister."

The characteristic disregard of generations may be clearly illustrated with the aid of the following diagram.




Old-dog is elder brother to both Reuben's mother, his sister's daughter, and to Reuben, his sister's daughter's son; he is their *aku'pe*. Old-dog, at the time of my visit, was about eighty, Reuben a little over twenty years of age.

Mrs. Old-dog's daughter would call her mother's mother's brother *basā' are*. Though this is evidently the approved method of designating the maternal uncle and great-uncle, in accordance with Hidatsa usage, there is some tendency for the generation factor to assert itself, so that in the absence of a specific avuncular term some Crow of both sexes, call the mother's brother "father," while the great-uncle is sometimes called "grandfather." Gray-bull connected this less usual mode of designation with the custom of adopting and bringing up a sister's child. In such a case, he said, the child would call the mother's brother with whom it lived "father," while its own mother would be called "sister" and its own father "brother." This is a point on which I should like to obtain corroborative data.

Plenty-hawk calls his stepson *barā'x*, "Crazy-one."

*First Ascending Generation.* ak'é, ak'sé. Parent, used only non-vocatively, I think.

axɛ́ (voc., m. sp.). Father, father's brother, father's mother's brother, father's sister's son, father's clansman regardless of age, [mother's sister's husband], [father's sister's husband].

mirúpxe (non-voc., m. sp.). Coextensive with above. Though this word is never used in address, a derivative *mirúpxe k·ā'ta*, which etymologically means" little (dear) father" may be so employed. However, it is not properly a term of kinship at all, but denotes either a specific relation-

ship between two men which will be described presently, or secondarily simply intimacy or friendship. Sometimes a good-looking young man would temporarily surrender his sweetheart or wife to one of his friends. In such a case the two men called each other *mirúpxek·ā'te*. Sometimes the young man desired to get some medicine from an old man and would similarly surrender his marital rights.

Gray-bull himself secured some war medicine from an old man, for which he first yielded possession of his mistress and later of his wife. The medicine was used for stealing horses from the enemy. This old man was the informant's mother's brother, but thereafter the reciprocal term mirú pxek·āte was used by both. Simply as a joke this term is applied by Bull-chief to Gray-bull, a fellow-clansman. In the historical tale of Spotted-rabbit, the hero after becoming a Crazy-dog-wishing-to-die (see p. 83) has a love affair with the wife of Two-faces, who thenceforth regards him as *iru'pxek·ā'te*. In another story two men who have stolen each other's wives in reconciliation establish the same mutual relationship.

mā'sa'ke (non-voc.). My father's clansman. The corresponding vocative form in *a* was used only in praying to the Sun.

masā'ka, masā'ke (voc. and non-voc., w. sp.). Coextensive with *axɛ'* and *mirúpxe* in female parlance.

i'g·á (voc., m. sp., w. sp.). Mother, mother's sister, mother's clan sister of her own generation, [father's brother's wife], father's sister, [husband's mother].

masa 'ké (non-voc.). Coextensive with *i'g·á*.

basbā' xíð (non-voc.). Father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, and all female descendants through females *ad infinitum*. This term corresponds to mā'sa'ke with the difference that it designates the father's female clansfolk while the latter denotes male members of his clan. Etymologically, I feel certain that this word goes back to the *Hidatsa* stem *xíð*, "old"; *ba* being a nominal prefix. The term thus literally means "my old one." This, of course, suggests a secondary extension of meaning from the primary one of father's sister.

The use of terms may again be abundantly illustrated by text material. In a song sung in derision of the Lumpwood society,[1] these words occur: *dāk ake'retbā' wik·*, "Their children parentless I'll make." A tradition begins with the statement: *isā'k'ci rðk bāk'ē'-wisak'*, "A young man had parents." In regard to the same character the phrase *b ā' k'sā' wi cè c* is also applied, meaning "the one who had parents."

The distinction of speaker's sex in addressing the father appears very clearly. When one of the twin heroes speaks to his father, he says, *axɛ'*,

[1] Lowie, (d), 170.

*dɛ hamakú*, "Father, your food give me some," but when Whirlwind-woman is admonished by an old man, she answers, díð, wasā'ka', bītsiwa' waku', "Come, father, tell me for my sake." The equally rigid differentiation in non-vocative use was forcibly brought home to me when I once asked a half-breed girl where her father was: *dī' rupxe cō?* This produced great merriment, the only possible form in speaking to a woman being *disā' ke*. For instance, after Coyote's supposed decease his wife says to their daughter, *disā'ᵃke ariri'ðc díð wā'wu*, "Your father, what he said let us do." In the myths it is common to refer to a person's parents specifically instead of using the generic parent term discussed above. For example, *māsa'kúˢ-rðk mirúpxuˢ-rðk am-barē'-tsiwá + u*, "Our mothers and our fathers what they have told us." Here the speakers are male. When the Buffalo-woman's parents are referred to, however, the phrase is *isā'karðk isá'k-arðk*, "her father and her mother." That is to say, the stem for "mother" remains the same, that for "father" is fundamentally distinct.

The difference between vocative and non-vocative stems for the parent terms is readily illustrated. In the Old-Woman's Grandson myth, the boy hero asks his mother to dig wild turnips which they shall eat: *i'g·a'*, *ihē'm bākpð'k' bū'cbōk*. The story continues: *isa'ke'*, *dī'rupxe bare' apí''tseruk*, *hɛ'tseruk*, "His mother, 'Your father us to dig forbade' she said." In another story a boy identifying his father says, *mirúpxe k'ōk'*, "My father, it is he."

A prayer to the Sun opens with the following allocution: kahé, mā'sa'ka, kandisā'ᵃce díawā' hik·, "Well, father's clansman, now your blanket I have just made." In a story dealing with the origin of the sweatlodge, a character is thus admonished: *dī ik·uctci'-rðk, dā'ᵃsa'kèm bā'ᵃku*, "When you go out, (to) your father's clansman give something."

According to Gray-bull, it was only the husband of an own or at least closely related "paternal aunt" that was called *axɛ'*.

Grasshopper's daughter addresses her paternal uncles *masā'k 'ā* and her father's sister *i 'g·a'*.

It is interesting to note that the relationship through the father's clan may be superseded as a result of marriage. Thus, if a birik·ō'oce married Gray-bull's daughter, Gray-bull would no longer call him "father" but consider him his son-in-law; while by marrying Gray-bull's sister, he would become his brother-in-law.

*Second Ascending Generation.* axɛ'-isà'ke (voc., m. sp.). Father's father, father's father's brother, mother's father, mother's father's brother, grandmother's husband, mother's mother's brother (optional).

mirúpx-isà'ke (non-voc., m. sp.). Coextensive with the above.

masā'k-isà'ka (voc., w. sp.). Coextensive with above.

masā′k-isà'ke (non-voc., w. sp.). Coextensive with above.

masa 'kā′ᵃre (voc. and non-voc., m. sp., w. sp.). My grandmother, grandmother's sister, mother's paternal aunt, father's paternal aunt, grandfather's wife.

The etymology of all these terms is transparent, *isa''ke*, of the same stem with *isé*, *isá*, "old," "big," is the essential element of the customary word for "old man," *isā′ 'kakā'te*; cf. *Isā′'ka-wuðtè*, Old-Man-Coyote. In other words, the grandfather terms are composed of the "father" term plus the stem for "old man." *masa'kā′ᵃre* is similarly compounded by contraction of the non-vocative term for "mother" with the customary word for "old woman," *kā′ᵃre*.

In the Old-Woman's—Grandchild cycle the hero's adoptive grandmother thus announces that he has killed her husband, *ē'k dī′rupx-isa''ka k'ōk'*, "That one your grandfather was identical with." In telling the old woman of his departure, the hero says, *masa'kā′ᵃre, bā'wac barē′ wik·*, "Grandmother, I am going to hunt." When he gets back to her, the same stem is used non-vocatively: *isa'kā′ᵃre hi′ðk'*, "His grandmother he reached."

In prayer the Moon is said to have been addressed as *masa'kā′ᵃre*.

Sunrise is regarded as Plenty-hawk's grandson, because the latter married Sunrise's grandmother.

Gray-bull's granddaughter calls both Gray-bull, who is her father's father, and her mother's mother's brother *masā′k-isà 'ke*. She likewise calls Horn, her mother's mother's sister's husband "grandfather," and his wife "grandmother."

*Descending Generations.* bā'kā′te (non-voc.). My child. Composed of nominal prefix and diminutive suffix.

dāk, rāk, nāk (usually non-voc.). Child, both with and without kinship significance.

dā′k-batsɛ' (non-voc.). Son, literally "child-man."

dā′k-bī'ð (usually non-voc.). Daughter, "child-woman."

irō′ oce (voc.). Son (m. sp., w. sp.), brother's son (m. sp., w. sp.); mother's brother's son (m. sp., w. sp.), mother's mother's brother's son (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's son (w. sp.), grandson (m. sp., w. sp.).

xū′ʷtse (voc.). Daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), brother's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), mother's brother's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), sister's daughter (w. sp.), granddaughter (m. sp., w. sp.), younger sister (w. sp.), [younger sister-in-law, (w. sp.)].

màcbāpíte (non-voc.). Grandchild (m. sp., w. sp.).

Perhaps the most interesting point in regard to these terms is the limitation of the "grandchild" term to non-vocative use. Phonetically it corre-

sponds perfectly to the Hidatsa stem, which, however, is used both in direct address and otherwise. The Crow connotation is clearly exemplified both in daily life and in mythology. Thus, Young-crane calls her daughter's daughter *xū'ᵂtsɛ*; in the Old-Woman's Grandchild myth the hero's name is *Kā'ricbā'pi'tuɔɛ* ("Old woman her grandchild," plural form), but she addresses him as *irō'ᵖcc*, or with added diminutive *irō'ᵖck·ā'ta*, never as *ma'cbā pîte*. She does, however, apply to him, both vocatively and non-vocatively, the generic "child" term. For example, we find: *warā'k' bā' warā'xkā'tec*, "my grandchild is a crazy one;" *îk·a, barā' kā'ta*, "Look, my little (grand) child." Correspondingly, the term is used in the third person: *hinê k·ā'ᵂrec nā'k'batsɛ tsiri''tseruk*, "This old woman her (grand)-son feared, it is said."

Some of the other words of this series are not so rigidly defined as to vocative or non-vocative use, though the above data give the preferential or at all events more common meaning. For example, Old-Man-Coyote's wife says, to a man *hinê xúᵂtsk·ā'te áxpɔ̂k*, "This little daughter marry" (imperative). On the other hand, an old mouse thus addresses Whirlwind-woman: *barîɔ̂ di'a, dā'k'bī'ɔ̂*, "My words execute, daughter," where it is also noteworthy that the pronominal prefix is lacking.

Illustrations of the use of terms taken from mythological material follow: *bac-bakā'te â'tsipā'ri*, My children may they grow up. *barā'k' sas ō*, "My child soon bring (imperative). *darā'k'e cik·ā' k'ā' t'-dɔ̂k*, "Your child if it should be a boy." *dā'k'batsɛ' i' rɔ̂ pū' rɔ̂k*, "His sons there are two of them." *darā' k' bī' a darō're aráxpa*? "Your daughter you came and married?" *dā'k'bī'ɔ̂e xatsi'ɔ̂k*, "Her daughter (obj.) she shook." *darā'k'e áxpɔ̂k â'takāt awā'tsia*, "Your child (a grown-up daughter) with her close sit" (imperative). *aɛ'*, *ham makú. irō'ᵖcc, cō'ritsim di warāká*? "Father, some give me. Son, when (did) you (become) my child?"

Yellow-brow calls Grasshopper's daughter, i. e., his wife's brother's daughter *xū'utsɛ*. Young-crane calls her daughter's daughter by the same term.

A suspicion sometimes arises whether what from our point of view seems a grotesque misapplication of terms of kinship is not merely a theoretical exercise on the natives' part. But both among the Hidatsa and the Crow the apparently absurd connotations feature in everyday conversation. Reuben assured me that Bread (see diagram, p. 62) addressed him, i. e., his father's sister's daughter's son, as *aɛ'* not by way of a joke but as the normal mode of allocution. An even more convincing case came directly under my observation. A four-year old boy, Sunrise, actually called a two-year old girl, Good-skunk, his daughter. In reality, she is his mother's brother's daughter. I asked Sunrise, "*darā k'bī' a cō*?" "Your daughter where (is she)?" He at once replied by puckering up his lips and protruding them towards Good-skunk. In other words, these to us strange applications are imparted to children, with others that seem normal to us, at a very early age.

According to Young-crane, a woman would refer to her brother's child as *macbā'-pi'te*. This may be merely a retroactive effect of the freedom with which the Crow merge distinct generations, for the husband of the father's sister was not classed with the grandfather but with the father. Thus, Young-crane had an elder brother's daughter, whom she referred to as her grandchild, but who addressed Hunts-the-enemy, my informant's husband, as "father." A plausible reason for the classification of the brother's child with the grandchild lies in the classification of the mother's brother's child with the child: if the father's sister's son regards his cross-cousin as his son or daughter, it is not unnatural for the father's sister to regard this nephew or niece as her grandchild. My impression is that Crow usage, here as in some other respects, is not rigidly fixed,— certainly less so than among the Hidatsa.

Morgan's Crow schedules have a relatively high degree of correctness, most if not all of his terms being readily equated with those obtained by more phonetic methods of transcription and the meanings being also given with a fair measure of accuracy. Nevertheless, there are not a few errors due to his unfamiliarity with the language and sometimes to his failure to note the distinction between vocative and non-vocative use.

As generic terms for "my brothers" and "my sisters" Morgan gives the equivalents of *bāsā'pe* and *baku'pmī'∂*, respectively. The former expression has been found to extend far beyond the narrow family circle (p. 59), the latter seems to me a perfectly legitimate compound of *baku'pe* and *wī'∂* ("*Geschwister*" and "woman") but is hardly the usual generic expression for "sisters," for which I think *bacbī'∂* would be more commonly used (but see p. 60). In defining the equivalents of *bī'ik·a* and *basā' ᵃre*, Morgan correctly notes the extension of these terms to elder parallel cousins, but wrongly makes the latter word stand for maternal uncle in male as well as in female speech. In the former case *bī' ik·a* is naturally used since *basā' are* is only employed by women. "*bā-cha-ka*" for "father's brother's daughter's son" is obviously only a misprint for *bā-chu'-ka*, which is correctly rendered to cover the younger brother and younger parallel male cousin in the speech of both sexes; and the sister's son and the mother's sister's daughter's son in male parlance. The father's brother's daughter being a "sister" according to the Crow system, her son is naturally in the class of the sister's son. Morgan limits *basā 'kā'ᵃta* to the man's elder sister and parallel female cousin, while according to my data it is used by both sexes. The term he gives for a female's elder sister *bus-ıe'-nā* I can identify with nothing but *basbī'∂*, the generic sister term. It may be noted that its phonetic equivalent in Hidatsa is limited to male usage. *basā' ka*, being a female term, cannot be applied by a man to his sister's daughter, the corresponding *basa'tsī' ita* being the only permissible one. Morgan correctly defines this word to include a man's younger sister and female parallel cousins; curiously enough, he omits the meaning "sister's daughter," for his correctly given additional definitions "father's brother's daughter's daughter" and "mother's sister's daughter's daughter" are intelligible only through the extension of the term to the sister's daughter.

In the ascending generation Morgan gives only the vocative father term, thus obscuring the derivation of his (non-vocative) grandfather term. He errs in not restricting *axe'* to male speech and thus even comes to extend it to the husband's father. On the other hand, it is worth noting that he correctly makes it cover the relationship of father's sister's husband. *i'g·a'* is rightly defined, the extension to father's sister's son's wife following logically from the status of the cross-cousin. The only criticism to be made under this head is Morgan's failure to note that there

is a non-vocative term generally corresponding to *i'g·a'* but not embracing the paternal aunt and her female descendants through females. Morgan gives *e-sā-ckeka* for stepfather; I never found the equivalent used except for the stepson. For the grandfather and all the other male relatives of his and higher generations Morgan has one word, *miru'px-isa'ke*. This we have seen to be only the non-vocative form of male parlance. Further, the extension to the mother's mother's brother is merely optional, and I suspect the same for the mother's mother's mother's brother. *masa'-kā' are* is correctly defined.

In the first descending generation Morgan again fails to note the distinction between direct address and non-vocative usage. For the daughter he gives only an expression predominantly non-vocative, *dā'kbī'ð*. For "son" the form *bol-sa'-sā* is listed, the additional meanings being brother's son and mother's sister's son's son for both sexes, and sister's son and mother's sister's daughter's son for female speech. What Morgan himself evidently felt to be a word of the same stem, *bolso'-ka*, is defined father's brother's son's son and mother's brother's son for both sexes, and father's brother's daughter's son for women. There is no warrant for this differentiation. Morgan seems to have got mutilated forms of the non-vocative *dā'kbatse'*, which would cover all his meanings.

In the second descending generation Morgan fails to note that *macbā'pi'te* is restricted to non-vocative use. The meaning "sister's grandson (m. sp.)" requires explanation. The sister's daughter's son would logically be a sister's son, i. e., a younger brother, correlatively with the designation of the mother's mother's brother as elder brother. In practice, however, we have found this use to be optional, the grandfather term being sometimes substituted, and to correspond with this we may have the sister's daughter's son classed with the grandson. But this reasoning does not apply to the sister's *son's* son, for the sister's son is a younger brother, whence *his* son becomes a brother's son, i. e., a son, not a grandson. In agreement with this we have the classification of the father's mother's brother with the father. Morgan is more seriously at fault in his interpretation of the word *basbā'xi'ð* as sister's granddaughter, (m. sp.), and father's sister's son's son, father's sister's son's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son in the speech of both sexes. Indeed, the only correct meaning furnished by Morgan is "father's sister's daughter's daughter." His misunderstanding is in part due to his ignoring the distinction between the vocative and non-vocative for paternal aunt. *basbā'xi'ð* simply denotes, in non-vocative use, the father's sister and all her female descendants through females. It never designates a male relative; the son of a father's sister's son is a father's son, i. e., a brother, while the son of a father's sister's daughter is a father's sister's son, i. e., a father. The father's sister's son's daughter, being a father's daughter, is classed with the sister. Finally, *basbā'xi'ð* cannot be applied to the sister's daughter's daughter, who is a sister (cf. diagram, p. 62); but neither can it be extended to a man's sister's son's daughter, who is classed with the daughter of a brother, hence with the daughter.

### TERMS OF AFFINITY.

*Speaker's Generation.* áxpe (non-voc.). Spouse. The stem means also "companion" "to marry," and "in the company of." For example, in a tale a man who kills an enemy with his mother's help is dubbed "Isa'k-áxpa-rape'c," "His mother-with-he-kills."

tsiré (non-voc.). Husband. This is the only specific term for this relationship, but like its phonetic equivalent among the Hidatsa it is regarded as something of a honorific designation. That is to say, its use suggests the permanence of the union; whether the Hidatsa idea is involved that the woman must not have been previously married, I am unable to state definitely.

u′∂ (non-voc.). Wife. This is the specific term for this relationship.

The two preceding words are used with possessive or privative particles to denote the fact or the contrary of marriage. Thus, a man is asked *du′a-wɨ̀ci*, "Are you married?" (literally, your wife is there one?) or *dua-wic-bicè*, "Have you ever been married?" or *an-dúa-wic-basé, dicbā′re sā′we?* "When you were married the first time, how old were you?" Of a woman it is said: *tsi′mbicik·*, "She is married," (literally, "her husband there is one," the final syllable of *tsiré* being contracted and assimilated to following *b*). In a song a woman is represented as saying, *batsímbicik·*, "I am married" and is told *datsi′nɛtdɛ̄′tk*, "You are as though without a husband" (net, privative).

bu′∂ ka (voc., m. sp.). My brother's wife, mother's brother's wife. This is clearly a derivative from the foregoing; the non-vocative is formed in the usual way (*e*).

bu′∂ — wa + isé (m. sp.). My wife's elder sister. *wā* is the nominal prefix, *isé* means "old, big."

bu′∂-karic'ta (m. sp.). My wife's younger sister; my young wife in a polygamous household.

bactsité (w. sp.). My husband's brother.

Nothing is more complicated than the Crow mode of designating these affinities, for there seems to be considerable latitude. Neither spouse ordinarily addresses the other by name, but this was sometimes used, probably only in the case of long-continued union. Gray-bull said that a good woman would call her husband by name, meaning she would have to be one whom her husband would not have cause to abandon for infidelity. Instead of the names, demonstrative or interjectional expressions are employed in direct address. *hɛ̄′ ha* is used by either sex in calling a spouse. The women also use *hira′* and more particularly *barū′aritsè*, which latter word I cannot satisfactorily analyze. A wife's sister is likewise addressed *hɛ̄′ ha*, and in calling her sister's husband she employs the identical word or *hirá*. She may also call her brother-in-law by name: "*dā′suð k'ō rā′sasuk'*," "Name that they call him." A woman similarly may call her husband's brother by name and he may use hers instead of *búðka*, but there are evidently optional modes of address: if he is older, she calls him *masā′ rɛ*; if younger, either *batsū′ka* or even *irō′ oce*.

The term *hɛ̄′ha*, as applied to a wife's sister, obviously refers to potential

connubium for she is no longer so addressed when married to another man, her name being then used instead. She may also be called "So-and-so's wife."

In non-vocative first-person usage non-specific expressions often take the place of *batsiré* and *búa*. Thus, we may have the demonstratives, *ĭ' wə̀ 'k, ĭ'mbe, ĭ'r ə̀'k*, or combinations of demonstratives with generic expressions.

I was seated by Mrs. Plenty-hawk, whose husband had been telling me myths, when a visitor arrived and knowing what my business was inquired who was telling me stories. The hostess answered *ĭ'mbe*, "That one," her husband being at the moment some distance away and in motion. Ū'ciec's wife always referred to her husband as *ē''k isā''ke*, "that old man"; other women would use *batsɛ'* "man" in place of *isa''ke* and might substitute *ĭ rə̀ 'k* for *ē''k*. A man often referred to his wife as *ē''k·* (or *ir ə̀ 'k*) *bī'ə̀* "that woman." Corresponding expressions are in vogue for other relatives. Thus, a woman speaks of her husband's brother as *ē''k batsite'*, "that my brother-in-law" and of her sister's husband as *ē''k tsirɛ'*, "that one's husband," and a man may refer to his wife's younger sister as *ē''k ĭsō' °ke*, "that one's younger sister."

A woman sometimes referred to her husband teknonymously, saying, "the boy's father."

*bā'acī'* (voc., m. sp.). My wife's brother, wife's mother's brother, sister's husband, sister's daughter's husband.

*barā'ace* (non-voc., m. sp.). Coextensive with the foregoing.

*bakúa* (non-voc., w. sp.). My husband's sister.

*basbī'akaricta* (non-voc., w. sp.). My brother's wife, literally "my young woman" (see p. 58).

Vocatively, the sisters-in-law may address each other by name; or the elder may call the younger *xū' utse*, being in turn called *makú kā'ta*, "elder sister" (see p. 60). Probably the other terms for sister are also permissible.[1] According to one informant, sisters-in-law of about the same age called each other *hī'ra*, "female comrade."

According to one statement, the wife's sister's husband is called elder or younger brother depending on seniority; according to another, he is not considered a relative but is called *barā'x* (cf. p. 60).

*batc-iri'kuō* is the expression used to designate the relationship between co-wives, the first syllable being the reciprocal prefix. (cf. p. 35).

The use of the above-mentioned terms of affinity is in some measure illustrated in the texts secured. In the myth of Lodge-boy and Thrown-away, the witch who afterwards kills the heroes' mother addresses her as follows: *hī'ra, datsíre bā'tsik'ūt', cō'ot-da'e*, "Female comrade, your husband

[1] See Lowie, (c), 212.

when he comes home with his pack, what do you do?" In another tale when Mouse transforms Old-Man-Coyote into a mouse, Whirlwind-woman fails to recognize him: *tsiré-c arā'xta-tā're 'tseruk*, "Her husband she truly did not know, it is said." In the Old-Woman's — Grandchild myth, when the hero has killed his adoptive grandmother's husband, she informs him of his identity: *ē' 'k- dī'rupx'-isa''ka k'ōk'*, *bī watsirā'-k'*, "That your grandfather was, I my husband he was." When a dwarf asks a young man whether he is married, the reply is *bú a k'ar-ē' risak'*, "My wife now is pregnant." In a society's song ridiculing the rival organization it is said: *ā're-tatse'-we úð kurutsī'm*, *dúð hú'kawe*, "Straight-arm his wife took back, your wife let her come." A tyrant who has cruelly treated the hero of a tale attempts to placate him by saying: *bú akari'ctem îtsik·ā'cec âxpðk*, "My young good-looking wife (in a polygamous household) marry" (imper.). In another story a woman is living with her husband, her husband's brother, and his sister. This fact is expressed as follows: *bī'ðrðk tsire' tsī ictsît'-bic-dðk akúa-kāt'-bic-dðk ku' kōrá'tseruk*, "A woman, her husband, also her husband's brother there was one, her husband's little sister there was one, also she was there." When a young man has had his will of a buffalo-cow, he addresses her *hē'ha*, "Wife!" The same word is used by a young man who has eloped with the wife of another. In the story of Coyote and his Daughter, the little boy announces his discovery of Coyote's identity with the words: *hiñe' warā'ace mirúpxe k'ōk'*, "This my brother-in-law my father is identical with." With reference to the boy's scrutinizing Coyote's face it is said: *irā' acee ī'se i' k·a-kā'ci-'tseruk*, "His brother-in-law's face he looked at very much, they say." The mother warns the boy: *irō' oce*, *dirā' ace ī'se dirútsiri*, "Son, your brother-in-law's face you might touch."

Spotted-horse (see diagram p. 62) was Old-dog's brother-in-law, being his sister's daughter's husband.

*Other Generations.* The most important fact relating to other relatives by marriage is the reciprocal rule of avoidance obtaining between a man and certain of his wife's relatives. There is a generic expression covering all relatives who are shunned,— *uce'* (plural, *usu'a*); with the first person the word becomes *buce'*. Of course, vocative forms are out of the question for these tabooed affinities. U'uciec, from a man's point of view, summarized the facts as follows: *bu'a isa'ké buruci' tūk'*; *bu' a icbatse' u'ð burucítūk'*; *bu'a isā'ke burucít uk'*; *barā'kbī'ð tsiré burucítuk'*. That is, "Our wife's mother we avoid (i. e., neither look at her nor speak to her); our wife's brother's wife we avoid; our wife's father we avoid; our daughter's husband we avoid." These terms should be understood in the native,

classificatory sense; yet apparently without including the more remote relatives of the wife; and the wife's grandmothers, on both sides should have been added, as indeed the informant remarked independently of his formal enumeration. On the other hand, the Crow differ from the Hidatsa in not including with the *uce'* the wife's *isbā'xi'ə* (paternal aunts, etc.), who are not avoided and are classed with the mother. In polygamous marriage with unrelated wives, the taboo extended to the relations of all the wives. The rule of avoidance embraced the son-in-law's own brothers, as well as the son-in-law himself, but apparently did not affect more remote kinsmen.

The father-in-law taboo was also weaker than the rule for mutual avoidance between wife's mother and daughter's husband; nowadays it seems to have largely disappeared while the other taboos persist.

One-star, who was once married to one of Arm-round-the-neck's daughters, is now called "son" by his one-time father-in-law and treated accordingly, and One-star's wife is considered his daughter. One-star speaks to his former son-in-law, Leo Medicine-crow. In these cases, the dissolution of the marriage bond may be thought to have produced this effect. But this does not apply to the case of James Carpenter, who speaks freely to Flat-head-woman, his wife's father, but continues to shun his wife's mother, her grandmother, and her brother's wife.

A man may refer to his parents-in-law as *baxzā'ri'ə* or *basbā'xarîə*, "my old one" or "my old ones." He may also designate them as "that woman's father" or "that woman's mother."

The rule of avoidance can be removed, usually after the wife's death, by the presentation of a substantial gift, and in this step either the son-in-law or the parent-in-law may take the initiative. In such cases a parent-child relationship is assumed.

Thus, Gray-bull gave Yellow-brow one or two horses and said, *barā'ke kō dī at'-dī'ə wā' wik·*, "My child that you, too, I shall make you." Since then he spoke and smoked with him as though with one of his sons, but Gray-bull's wife was not affected by the arrangement. A wife's death and divorce certainly affected the taboo. Young-crane, after the death of her daughter, prepared her son-in-law through his father for what was coming, then gave him a colt, spoke to him, and since then has treated him as a son. She lives with him and takes care of her granddaughter. Yet sometimes horses are presented without a removal of the taboo. Gray-bull gave one horse to his father-in-law and another to his mother-in-law, but only spoke to the former thereafter. It is also strange that while Grasshopper now freely converses with Young-crane, his own brothers, White-hip and Cuts, who formerly shared the taboo with him, do not yet talk to the old woman without restraint. While they no longer shun her, they do not speak with her any more than is necessary.

Gray-bull said that since his wife's death he no longer shuns all her brothers' wives. "My wife was the reason I did not talk to them, so now that she is gone I talk to them." However, this principle is not consistently carried out. My

informant still shuns his wife's own or closely related brothers' wives. He was successively married to five wives. After a divorce he would no longer avoid his former wife's mother.

There is no taboo between a woman and her parents-in-law, whom she treats as her own parents. She calls them *masā'ka*, "father" or *bas-isā' 'ke*, "my old man," and *masā 'ké*, "mother," *bac-k·ā' are*, "my old woman," or *ī'rð 'k k·ā' are*, "that old woman." On the other hand, *dā'k'bī'ð*, "daughter" is used, certainly by the mother-in-law, and probably likewise by the father-in-law, in addressing the son's wife.

Morgan gives the easily recognized equivalent of *mī'rapàtse* as the word by which two fathers-in-law, i. e., the fathers of spouses, address each other. This is the usual word for "comrade, friend." The same author gives *há-nā* as the corresponding word for the relationship between the spouses' mothers. This must be a misprint for *hī'ra*, the usual word for "female comrade." It may very well be that such terms were used, since their application is generic and would simply express friendship or courtesy. The only relevant data I collected refer to the relations between parents-in-law of opposite sex. Gray-bull, whose son had married Young-crane's daughter (deceased), lived for years under the same roof with the old woman. They did not regard each other as relatives, yet treated each other as though they were. They were *i'ð-nakasu'a* (first person singular: *bi'ð-nakasé'*).

Owing to the extreme difficulty of the affinity terms used by the Crow, it is not surprising to find Morgan's schedules inadequate in some respects and misleading in others. It was natural that he should usually have obtained the specific terms rather than the non-specific modes of address. Sometimes his ignorance of the language is to blame. For example, the daughter-in-law (w. sp.) and sister's son's wife (w. sp.) are not denoted by a specific term when called *barā'ke* (*mā-nā-ka*), as Morgan's readers might conjecture, but by the generic expression for "my child." Similarly, *gā-na* in his *boo' sha-gā-na* is simply *kā'ᵃre*, the word for "old woman" suffixed to *bucé'*. Ignorance of the avoidance rule prevents him from explaining why wife's father, son-in-law, and so forth, should be designated by this common term. He also fails to include the wife's brother's wife in this category, giving *bolze'-no-pāche* for both her and the husband's brother's wife. I consider this incorrect, for his term seems to be the equivalent of *bats-ī'rapatse*, which means "one another's male comrade." Morgan fails to note that *bā'aci* is simply the vocative of *barā'ace* and translates the former "wife's brother," the latter "father's brother's daughter's husband, mother's sister's daughter's husband, and sister's husband (all m. sp.). For "husband" and "wife" he gives merely the non-vocative terms, being apparently ignorant of the impossibility of using these in direct address. For *bu'ð ka* the classificatory extensions are correctly given, for since the sister's son, the father's brother's son, the mother's brother, and the mother's sister's son are all "brothers" (m. sp.), it follows that their wives must be designated by the same term as an own brother's wife. On the other hand, Morgan errs in defining *basbī' akaricta* (*bos-me a-kun-is-ta*). He correctly gives "brother's wife (w. sp.)," from which fundamental meaning follows, logically enough, the extension to father's brother's son's wife and mother's sister's son's wife (both w. sp.). But he also gives "daughter-in-law (m. sp.)," and "brother's son's wife" and "mother's brother's son's wife" for

both sexes. This information is in a measure inconsistent, for the application by both sexes to the two last-named affinities would follow only from a term for "daughter-in-law" common to men and women, while Morgan limits *basbī' akari'cta* to male speech in this sense. The essential objection, however, is that I find no warrant for the use of *basbī'akari'cta* except to denote a woman's brother's wife. It is, however, rash to dogmatize on the designation of Crow affinities; and I hasten to point out that etymologically the extensions given by Morgan are intelligible since the term signifies literally only "my young (but mature) kinswoman."

## Kinship Usages.

A few additional data have been secured on this topic.

The respect paid to each other by male brothers-in-law has already been emphasized. According to one informant, it is mainly the wife's brother that gives presents of horses, guns, etc., to the sister's husband, though the latter sometimes makes a return gift. The brother-in-law relationship was said to persist after the divorce of the connecting relative. On the other hand, by adoption into a society a "brother-in-law" might be transformed into a "son." This happened, e. g., when Gray-bull adopted Lee Scolds-the-bear into the Night Dancers' club. There is no objection to telling obscene myths in the presence of a brother-in-law, but personal obscenity must be avoided.

Female sisters-in-law did not joke with each other. A woman gave presents to her brother's wife. She would resent infidelity on the part of her brother's wife, and if she quarreled with her might prevail upon her brother to divorce her.

Young-crane declared that she had exactly the same feelings for half-brothers and half-sisters as for full *Geschwister* and that it made no difference whether the relationship was through the father or the mother.

In general it may be said that whatever differences of sentiment persisted with reference to differently related individuals designated by the same kinship term there was a conscious effort not to let the fact color one's practical conduct. It seems that a Crow regarded it as a matter of honor to treat, say, an adopted child as well as his own children,— if anything, better. In Crow folklore the wicked stepmother does not play the part she assumes in European tales, and though I recall a story in which a cruel stepfather figures this is an isolated instance.

## Marriage.

A man had a preëmptive right to the younger sisters of a woman he had bought in marriage. Some men married a brother's widow; this was called *u'ak-kura'* + *u*, "keeping a brother's wife."

As explained in my previous paper,[1] there was abundant opportunity for philandering on such occasions as berry-picking (*amatdi' aritskisu'a*) and it happened that young people would form a permanent attachment on such occasions without further ceremony. This type of union was called *bats — ārá + u*, "taking each other." Sometimes a young man used a go-between to make an offer to a young woman, and this was designated as *bi'ə-kus- irá + u*, "talking towards a woman."

The most honorable form of marriage was buying a wife, *i'wiciru'a*, "paying for her." That is, a man would give horses to her male relatives (*ic-batsɛ'o*) and meat to her mother. It was usually a young, good-looking and virtuous woman who was purchased but it did not matter whether she had been previously married. "Men," said Gray-bull, "would buy a woman who was not crazy. The Lumpwoods never came to the door of my tipi to take away my last wife. That is the sort of wife we paid for." This is an allusion to the custom by which a member of the Lumpwood or rival Fox organization might carry off the wife of a member of the other society provided he had ever been on terms of intimacy with her.[2]

Women stolen in this fashion were not usually kept for any length of time. Shell-necklace abducted three women in this manner but did not live with any of them longer than twenty days. He let them stay in a lodge other than his real wife's. There were some men who would keep these stolen women but the majority sent them away with such words as, *kan-dī + awáxpɛ, barē' tk', kanā'!* "I have done marrying you, go away!" After this any man might marry her without being disgraced, except the husband from whose lodge she had been stolen.

When a woman abandoned a man she disliked, this was called *batsɛ' — kurupi'u*, "disliking a man." Shell-necklace said, contrary to Gray-bull's earlier statement, that in such a case the husband recovered the property he had paid for her. A woman's relatives sometimes tried to dissuade her from running away from her husband.

The attitude of divorced spouses towards each other in later life naturally differed with different individuals. One interpreter told me that his father and mother hated each other and never had any social intercourse. Correspondingly, Young-crane informed me that she at first refused to be adopted into the Tobacco society by her former husband, Hunts-the-enemy, but was finally persuaded by her then husband, Crazy-dog. On the other hand, there are cases of divorced mates who converse on amicable terms.

Some concrete data as to married life are of considerable interest.

Young-crane married her first husband, a chief, before her first menses.

[1] Lowie, (c), 220 et seq.
[2] Cf. Lowie, (d), 169.

He had already married her elder sister and at the time of his death had two other wives,— one of them a relative belonging, like the informant, to the *a'cbatcúð*. The three related women inhabited the same lodge, while the fourth wife lived in a separate tipi; but sometimes all the wives of a man, even if unrelated, lived together. This first husband had been married to a wife whom he divorced and by whom he had four children. When he took to wife Young-crane, he gave her elder brother two horses and other presents. She had no children by him, but her elder sister had three, of whom Packs-hat is the oldest. He has always called Young-crane "mother"; when she later married Hunts-the-enemy, Packs-hat called him "father," as he also did his own mother's second husband; he continued to address Hunts-the-enemy in this way even after Young-crane's divorce from him, and later when she married Crazy-head called him "father" also. Young-crane's first husband was killed and after awhile she had Hunts-the-enemy for a lover and accordingly married him without purchase. However, he also took to wife a relative of Young-crane's whom she designated as her grandchild (*macbā'pite*) and who called her husband "father." This angered her. All the people thought Hunts-the-enemy had done something wrong in marrying a girl who called him "father" and said he was crazy. Accordingly, Young-crane separated from him. Later Crazy-head wished to marry her, and since he was a chief her brothers advised her to take him, and so she did without being purchased.

When Gray-bull was about twenty-two, he married for the first time. He had been out on a war party and when he came back he found a young woman who had come to his home, so he married her. She had a son by him, but the boy died. After about four years of marriage, she discovered that her husband had been out berry-picking with another young woman, so she got angry and told him to marry her rival. Accordingly, Gray-bull threw all her belongings out of the tent, and she left him. Then Gray-bull went to where his sweetheart was and married her without purchase. She was stolen by the Lumpwoods and Gray-bull never went near her for a year, and even then he did not seek her but she came to him. However, he did not keep her permanently. It was only for his last wife that property was paid. She was a virtuous woman, the widow of a brother of Gray-bull's, who had been killed. When Gray-bull's mother urged him to marry this woman, he at first declined, but at last consented. Then another brother of his took a horse and some property to the widow's mother, the horse being for the widow's father and the other gifts for her brothers. Some time after this one of the woman's brothers bade him stay in his lodge. Then one of her brothers came, stood outside the tipi, and called Gray-bull. Then he went with them and two of his own brothers

to the woman's lodge. She was seated on a fine bed and had a backrest there. Gray-bull's brothers went to the rear and sat down, and all of them received food. When they had eaten, the brothers went home and Gray-bull remained and lay with his wife. He felt bashful because she had not been his mistress before.

## Position of Women.

The fact that the women certainly perform all the menial household duties and are ordered about by their husbands in regard to bringing water and the like is likely to convey the idea that the position of women was a very inferior one in Crow society. Random references to women in myth and song, and indeed the deliberate bravado with which the ideal Crow man might discard his wife at a dance or allow her to be abducted by a rival organization, tend to confirm this impression.

Nevertheless, as in the case of sexual morality, superficial appearances are in a measure deceptive as to the real native point of view. In the first place, it is worth noting that a woman exercises definite property rights. In buying specimens I noticed repeatedly that husbands did not attempt to influence, let alone force, wives in regard to the sale of their belongings. It is further noteworthy that while women were naturally barred from the distinctively military men's clubs they play an important part in the sacred Tobacco society. Women secured visions, though less frequently than men; and some of them were medical practitioners and exercised supernatural powers. As the Crow had a very definite conception of ideal manhood, so they have a clear notion of what a woman should be,— virtuous, skilled in feminine accomplishments, physically attractive. This complex is summed up in the expression *bī ītsik'*, "She is a good woman," which perhaps corresponds to our "perfect lady" with the addition of good looks. A woman of this type was certainly well thought of and might exert considerable influence on her husband.

It is further clear that the bold face put on when a woman was abducted often merely served as a mask for profound grief. Indeed the stoical decorum so emphatically demanded by tribal etiquette indicates how difficult an achievement this triumphing over one's emotions was considered. When Gray-bull lost his wife in the spring contest of the Foxes and Lumpwoods he bravely bade her go with his rival, but interrupting his narrative at this point he said to me, "If you have ever been married, you know how this felt." [1]

Whether what has been called "romantic love" is less common among

[1] Lowie, (d), 171.

the Indians than in our own everyday life, it would be difficult to say. An educated interpreter ridiculed the notion of a man's committing suicide because of unrequited affection, but Werthers are not so common among us as he seems to have inferred from a reading of novels. At all events, Crow literature also comprises narratives of a hero undergoing dangers and achieving arduous tasks "all for the love of a lady," while one story recounts how a young woman braved all the perils and privations of a long overland journey through hostile territory in order to reach her disabled sweetheart.

## Sexual Morality.

In his discussion of the social life of the Yukaghir, Mr. Jochelson emphasizes the difference between theory and practice as regards the sexual relations of this people.[1] Exactly the same point may be made with regard to the Crow. In practice there is great looseness of manners, though the established rules of propriety are strictly observed.[2] War and love are described as the old Crow men's principal occupations, and the mythology, the reminiscences of informants, and ancient songs are all surcharged with evidence of the tendency to apparently unlimited philandering. To a superficial observer it would appear as though this masculine license were even today extended to the female sex. Young women of notorious immorality are not only not regarded as outcasts but in some instances are even taken to wife by young men who to all appearances might have made better matches. Their outward treatment, whether they are married or not, seems to differ not one whit from that accorded to other women.

Nevertheless, as already explained, the Crow have very definite ideals of feminine purity. A man certainly prides himself on being married to a woman of irreproachable chastity, and a wife of this type enjoys a very different reputation and social status from that of a "crazy" one, as unchaste women are usually described. On public occasions precedence was yielded to the virtuous women. When Young-jack-rabbit had distinguished himself in battle, his grandmother, who "had never done anything wrong," led him about camp and sang his praises. During the Sun dance the highly honorary office of tree-notcher was bestowed on a woman who had been taken to wife in the most honorable way, i. e., one who had not run away with her lover but had been decently married by purchase, and who had been

[1] Jochelson, 62, 65.

[2] Thus, my interpreter twitted me with the fact that while whites censured the Indian's immorality a brother would not hesitate to speak freely with his sister, which no decent Crow would do (see p. 38).

uniformly faithful to her husband. Chastity was likewise a prerequisite for another office in the same ceremony.[1]

There can be no doubt that even theoretically there was a double standard of morality. No one thought any the worse of a man of prominence for having indulged in numerous love affairs: these were rather regarded as his rightful share of the good things of life. When a young man had assumed the especially dangerous office of a Crazy Dog,[2] an old man would lead him through camp, announcing that since he was going to die the girls of the tribe who wanted to become his sweethearts must hasten to make overtures to him. One of my youngest interpreters, who had recently been married, would speak quite freely of the possibility of amours with other women, but he became grave in considering the case of his wife being disloyal. "Do you know what I should do?" he asked me; "I should never look at her or have anything more to do with her."

That, however, a certain preferential respect was accorded to a man of virtue is shown by another Sun dance usage. An expedition for the purpose of bringing white clay was always led by a man who had never taken liberties with any women but his own wife, even in the case of licensed privileges.[3]

## Privileged Familiarity.[4]

Some additional details were obtained regarding the joking-relationship.

If a person's mother had a second husband, her children regarded the clan children of both their own and their stepfather as *ī'watkusu'ə*. Thus, Gray-bull treated as in this category both the children of birik·ō'oce men (his own father's clansmen) and of *acitsíte* men (members of his stepfather's clan).

Ū'ucièc has One-star for one of his joking-relatives. He would abuse him as follows: *dī wirə xbā'k' xawī' k·*; *bacō'' dī' ə ra, dī wirəx bā'k' xawī'k·*; "You are a bad person; whatever you do, you are a bad person." If a war party returned unsuccessful, the *ī'watkusu'ə* of the warriors made fun of them. Ū'ucièc explained that after the hair-cutting performance there was no more licensed joking (*icitsē'cua*) between the persons concerned for the rest of their lives: *kàm-bat-ictitsē'cē-su-k*, "They did not joke any more." The joking-relationship includes people of opposite sex. Old-dog would chide a female *ī' watkusu'ə*, saying *dī wā' warāx', dī rōka'sak'*,

[1] Lowie, (c), 30, 35.
[2] Lowie, (c), 193.
[3] Lowie, (c), 42.
[4] Cf. Lowie, (c), 204–206, 214 f.

"You are a crazy one, you are lecherous." He would say this whether it was true or not, in reply she would call *him* crazy or abuse him in some other way.

My earlier statement that children of men belonging to linked clans were also *ī'watkusu'ð* stands corroborated. Gray-bull illustrated this specifically by the case of children of men of the acitsíte and acirārī'o clans. This extension, however, leads to an interesting possibility. Since a man was not prohibited from marrying into a clan linked with his own, it was possible for his children to be his joking-relatives. Thus, Bull-tongue is an àcirārī'o, while his father was acitsíte. Bull-tongue and his daughter accordingly both have fathers of the same phratry and accordingly the young woman would be privileged to treat Bull-tongue and his clansmen as *ī'watkusu'ð*. This, however, is entirely contrary to the notion that the father's clan must be treated with special respect. My informant was of opinion that in such a case a little joking might be permissible, but not the usual form of license.

As explained elsewhere, "brothers-in-law" were treated with great respect, and especially the real brother-in-law, i. e., the wife's own brother and *vice versa*. However, the more remote brothers-in-law were sometimes mocked in connection with war exploits. Thus, Old-dog will say to White-man-runs-him, who is married to one of Old-dog's clan sisters: *dúxirarêretk'*, "You have never been on a war party." White-man-runs-him responds in similar fashion. Gray-bull joked with Scolds-the-bear, but the latter was afraid to return in kind because of Gray-bull's superior war record. Under no circumstances is there obscene joking with any member of the "brother-in-law" group.

A man has the privilege of treating with the greatest license his brother's wife and his wife's sister, even if the latter should be married. He might raise his brother's wife's dress, exposing her, and she might do the same to him. A woman might also take liberties with her elder sister's husband. In the summer of 1916 I spent considerable time in the camp of an informant, who was continually teasing and fondling his wife's younger sister, while she returned this treatment in kind. They took the greatest liberties without regard to my presence or that of my informant's wife or that of his adult son by another marriage. According to Gray-bull, this type of familiarity ceases, however, when the wife's sister marries another man. For example, he himself continued speaking, but no longer played and joked with a certain woman after her marriage to Horn.

## Etiquette.

When a visitor comes to a tipi, the host may say *kahe'* by way of greeting, and this interjection is also used in addressing supernatural beings in prayer. If the inmates of the lodge happen to be outside they may say to the guest, *birē'ri*, "Enter." He is made to sit in the *acō'ria*, i. e., the rear of the lodge, the place of honor. If a woman is visited by her husband's wife or an adopted child, she bids them sit in the rear; other female visitors sit anywhere.

A man does not enter a lodge if his sister or brother-in-law or any of the wife's relatives comprised under the term *usu'a* is there alone. If he finds any woman alone in a lodge, he is not likely to enter unless she is a sister-in-law; and correspondingly a woman does not enter a lodge where she sees a man by himself unless he be a lover or a relative other than a brother.

If a visitor comes with his wife, they take seats opposite to the host and his wife, but if that side is occupied they go to the rear. When they have no visitors, a couple usually occupies the place where the blankets are spread for sleeping, generally on the sides (the part of the lodge called *i'cg·ewatsúa*).

No matter at what time of day a visitor arrives, food of some sort is at once offered to him or her. In the old days this consisted mainly of pounded meat (bā'ndatsia) or something of the sort. It was not obligatory to eat up everything; sometimes a visitor would take home what was left. This was considered perfectly proper: *arī'ɒdetk*, "It did not matter." Sometimes a guest would ask for a container in which to take the food home. The hosts do not have to eat at the same time with their visitors. In the old days the people ate when they were hungry.

I have myself had occasion to observe again and again that guests do not usually eat in the immediate company of their hosts even if all partook of food at the same time. The usual arrangement is for each family to eat by themselves. Sometimes my interpreter and I ate separately from the other people; and almost always every man formed a distinct group with his wife and children, so that on some occasions there were as many as four groups. Once Bright-wing was seen to join Magpie and his wife, which Gray-bull explained by saying the former was Magpie's brother.

When people meet outdoors, they do not use any expression corresponding to our passing the time of day but will probably ask, *cō' k'ararō'*, "Where do you come from?" or *sā'p dîðra*, "What are you doing?" On my return to the Crow Reservation one summer, an Indian greeted me with the remark: *di awákam, mi itē'k·*, "I am glad to see you" (literally, I see you, I am better). On a similar occasion a Crow said, *hiñe' batsē'k·ā'tec karahu'-tsitsē'k·*, "This dear man has come, it seems."

Crow men do not kiss their wives or sweethearts publicly; only young children are kissed in the presence of other people. However, I have seen a newly married young man caressing his wife though without kissing her.

In referring to a deceased person, particularly if related to one present, it is customary to use a euphemism, saying not *kara cē' k*, "He is dead," but *k'orēsak*, "He is not here." Thus, e. g., my interpreter designated Gray-bull's dead wife in speaking to her husband.

A man often refers deprecatingly to his own achievements, but this is mock-modesty and he knows perfectly well that his audience is perfectly aware of the facts. Once Gray-bull, in spite of his excellent war record, adopted this tone, saying, "I have never done anything in war." Young-crane, his son's mother-in-law, fearing that I might misunderstand, at once explained that Gray-bull was a very brave man indeed.

## Social Estimation of Individuals.

In his little book on *Anthropology* Doctor R. R. Marett has rightly emphasized the importance of individual differences even in the most primitive society. This fact, which has been repeatedly observed by field-workers, is certainly very noticeable among the Crow. It appears, e. g., in the contrast between the abstract-like version of a myth, or the colorless account of an actual happening, furnished by one informant and the graphic narrative of another. The point I should like to make in this connection is that the Indians are quite conscious of these individual variations, and further that the place occupied in society by a man as a result of his individuality depends not merely on his qualities but also on the traditional sense of values.

So far as the ancient Crow are concerned, prestige depended primarily on martial glory. Though the Government recognizes Plenty-coups as chief of the Crow, the natives who still cling to the old ways generally regard Bell-rock as the foremost Crow,— in spite of the fact that he has not been at all prominent in dealings with the United States. The point is simply that in his record for war exploits he is the foremost of living men. In the estimation of the Crow he therefore takes precedence of Plenty-coups and Medicine-crow, though both of these likewise have an excellent score to their credit. On the other hand, it is quite impossible to make the people yield homage to a man who has not attained the full status of a chief in the customary way. Thus, White-man-runs-him has gained a certain amount of celebrity among whites as the sole survivor of the Custer party and has served as a member of delegations to Washington. Nevertheless, no one

recognizes him as a chief. When he acted as crier at one of the July festivities some years ago, one of the other Crow pointed him out as an example of the degeneration of tribal standards. "In the old days we should not have picked out a man like him to serve as herald."

This one-sidedness, of course, prevents adequate recognition of men who in other societies might enjoy an enviable prestige. This came home to me with special force in the case of Bear-crane. Bear-crane had repeatedly acted as my informant, being apparently both unusually intelligent and remarkably well-posted in every subject of ethnographic interest. Yet while I was investigating the Sun dance with his aid, I was repeatedly warned to place no reliance on his statements because of his utter untrustworthiness. This led to a very careful checking of his data by my chief interpreter, James Carpenter, and in practically every instance Bear-crane's accounts were found to be corroborated by tribesmen of unexceptionable veracity. The psychology of the situation only became clear when I ascertained Bear-crane's war record, which was very poor and which apparently he had foolishly attempted to doctor in the customary recital of coups. He thus acquired in addition the reputation of mendacity, and whenever I mentioned him to other men his name was at once pooh-poohed. We have here, then, a sociologically instructive instance. A highly gifted individual receives no recognition in his social setting and is impelled to make an abortive attempt at getting a position from which he is barred by the rigidity of the native canons.

The notion that it was a man's duty to be brave sometimes found exaggerated expression, as among the Hidatsa, in the form of the theoretical view that it was proper to die young. Thus, an elder brother might force a younger one to assume unusual obligations of bravery not from malice but in order to shed luster on his name.[1] The same sentiment is expressed in the following song:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bak'ō' tsi'te | awáxe | awē'-rə̄k. | bāxariá | kawá-uk'. |
| Eternal (is) | the heaven | and the earth. | Old people | are bad. |

batsiri' reta.
Be not afraid.

This general point of view is illustrated by the actions of the Crazy-dogs-wishing-to-die,[2] who were not merely brave but foolhardy, deliberately courting death. It should be noted that the reason why Isacpi'tdakc, one of the most famous of these men, became a Crazy-dog was because a sore

[1] Lowie, (d), 166.
[2] See Lowie, (d), 193–196.

knee prevented him from joining the foot-soldiers in their war raids. In other words, the impossibility of satisfying the normal ambitions of a Crow warrior made life unbearable and drove him to assume the unusual obligation of recklessness. The respect which such conduct elicited is exemplified by Spotted-rabbit's case. After becoming a Crazy-dog, this warrior became the lover of Two-faces' wife. Two-faces, so far from resenting this as an injury, viewed Spotted-rabbit as his irúpxek-ā'te (see p. 63) and even sought to avenge his death.

In latter-day Crow society the principal means for distinction has of course become impossible. It has been supplemented partly by other qualities esteemed in former times as secondary attributes of eminence, such as liberality, partly by characteristics displayed in dealings with the Government officials. Those who attempt to curry favor with the authorities or missionaries to the detriment of their own people lose caste, and to a lesser extent this applies to men who, while ostensibly defending their tribesmen, are suspected of being mainly actuated by motives of self-aggrandizement. On the other hand, those who combat without afterthought what the Indians regard as injustice, even subjecting themselves to punishment on behalf of the rest, are highly esteemed.

Women are held in repute for such qualities as chastity (cf. p. 77), skill in feminine handicrafts, and kindliness.

Apart from the evaluation of personalities *in toto*, the Crow are keen in recognizing differences in point of special endowments or temperament. Thus, No-horse (*buré'-aac*) was pointed out to me as an unsurpassed master in the use of the Crow language. He will get up in an assembly, I was told, and employ words which no one has ever heard before yet which are at once understood and felt to be perfectly correct. On my second visit to the Crow, I was advised again and again to use as an informant Old-horn, who was described to me as an incomparable historiographer of his tribe. After possibly two weeks' arduous attempt to extract desired data from him, I was obliged to give him up as a hopeless case. He had never been a member of the Tobacco society and on most other aspects of aboriginal culture he spoke as an outsider. Whence, then, his reputation? He actually did possess a remarkable memory, especially for relationships and had proved very valuable to the Indian Office in aiding the adjustment of the native matrilineal scheme of inheritance to the laws of the United States. Ignorant of my precise aims and knowing his preëminence in this particular branch of aboriginal knowledge, my advisors had quite sincerely directed me to him.

As a social characteristic the ability to exchange good-humored raillery is highly prized. This is markedly noticeable in the intercourse with whites, where umbrage is taken at any appearance of putting on airs.

Some people become popular as purveyors of entertainment. Among these is White-arm, who was described to me as "a regular clown." He picks up threads of gossip and retails them to interested audiences, which are convulsed with laughter at his topical narratives. Things which never appeared funny before become comic under his treatment. Two of his favorite tales of this order were recorded as texts and wherever I read these to groups of Indians I always produced inordinate merriment. Of late White-arm has become less popular because of his association with one of the Protestant missions.

The loss of social prestige is naturally connected with the absence of the prized qualities, but as bravery is associated in the native consciousness with certain specific deeds, so disgrace is correspondingly the result of certain specific actions which are conventionally considered contemptible. Offenses of this sort become preëminently the butt of the *i' watkuxûð*, and the natives' extreme sensitiveness to ridicule renders the joking-relationship a very genuine corrective influence.

One of the things to which the Crow are strongly averse is a personal brawl among tribesmen. They will sometimes contrast their attitude with that of the whites who exchange blows when at loggerheads. "The white people all want to be prize-fighters," one of my interpreters said to me. Gray-bull told me there was just one bad thing scored against him in the tribal reckoning,— a fight with a Crow chief. His tale runs as follows: —

We were camped on the Yellowstone. The Arapaho were at Fort Custer, the Cheyenne at Rosebud. The Arapaho were friendly. I went hunting and got to the Arapaho. Some Arapaho told the Cheyenne that a Crow was in the Arapaho camp. The Cheyenne came and wanted to kill me, but the Arapaho chief would not allow it. One Cheyenne, whose son had been killed by our people, said if he could not kill the Crow he wanted to whip him. So the Arapaho took away all his weapons except his whip. I went up to him. He began to whip me. He whipped me until I no longer felt it. The Cheyenne was crying while he whipped me. At last the Arapaho chief bade him stop.

I crossed the Bighorn and went down the other bank. The whole Crow camp was coming across. When they had crossed, the Cheyenne were on the other side of the river, but did not cross in a body. One of them, however, crossed, riding a black horse and wearing a two-tailed war-bonnet. I said to the Cheyenne, "I told you not to come across." I went up and whipped him so hard that the feathers of his bonnet fell off. When I got through whipping him, I returned to the other Crow. The chief of the Crow came up and asked me what I was doing. "They whipped me first, that is why." The chief said, "It is nothing if they whipped you, you are no good any how." I said nothing. The chief began to whip me. Now all the Cheyenne had crossed. He whipped me for a while. When he had done, I told him he was crazy and asked whether the Cheyenne were his brothers and why he took their side. I told him that was a good day to die. The chief asked me whether I wanted to die. "Yes." I took a stick and hit the chief on the nose. He just stooped over [illegible] I beat him with the stick. Another chief, Long-horse, came and told me to

cease,[1] I ceased and stood there. I had two pistols; one I was holding loaded under my breech-clout. I waited for the chief to say something. He recovered from his nose-bleeding, then he told me he was going to kill me. I took out my pistol from under my breech-cloth, but someone knocked up my arm and I shot over the chief. The Indians seized both of us and separated us. After that I felt so badly that I did not know what to do. I said I was going to kill one of the Cheyenne, but the rest of the Crow would not let me go. The Cheyenne cheered while I was being whipped by the chief.

After this incident Gray-bull's joking-relatives made fun of him. The men would say, *ē'·k baré' ditā'i*, "That one may strike us." The female *i'wat-kuxu'* would also give warning of the approach, "There's that fighter, (*ē'·k bā'wurutē'c*); get out of his way, he might hit you."

The case of Fire-bear, an Agency policeman who killed Wraps-up-his-tail, the sword-bearing prophet (about 1888), was naturally regarded as far more serious. He was considered crazy for killing a fellow-Crow and when he approached everyone, whether a joking-relative or not, would say: *ham-di-rapéo, mitā'xare*, "He might kill some of you, get back."

As liberality is considered a great virtue, miserliness is regarded with contempt. Thus, it is considered bad if a man takes home a horse he has given away to a brother-in-law or some other person. This is called *bā'k-'uruteité*. If a hunter who had killed deer or buffalo did not give any of the food to another Crow who came upon him while butchering, his stinginess was derided. People would say to him, *irúk arátsicik·*, "You love meat." If a horse was always kept by a man until it was very old without being given away, this was not so bad, still people would make fun of the owner.

It was considered bad for a man continually to beat his wife without cause. People would talk about it, saying, *bī'ə rit'ə'k'*, "He beats his wife." If a party of Crow approached the enemy who stood their ground and if the leader then turned aside, the people made mock songs about him and compared him to a "bleeding woman" (*bī ī'maxuə*). This was, of course, a stinging reproach.

One of the worst things a man could do was to take back a divorced woman or one who had been abducted by a rival society.[2] Such conduct, called *bī'ə warā'x k'urá* + *u* (keeping a crazy woman), was regarded as truly disgraceful. People would say to an offender, *dī' isc ritcik·*, "Your face stinks." Flat-dog, Old-dog, Arm-round-the-neck, and Yellow-wolf are among those who transgressed the rules of propriety in this manner. People still hold this against them, and their joking-relatives throw it in their teeth, saying, "You smell a vulva." Though Arm-round-the-neck is a chief, they say this to him.

[1] This is probably a famous warrior of that name whom the Crow frequently mention for his extraordinary valor.

[2] Lowie, (d), 169.

## CONCLUSION.

Before entering into a comparison of Crow and Hidatsa social life, a few words seem in place regarding the general culture of these tribes. While probably every department of thought and customs presents some evidence of the former unity of these tribes, there are also noteworthy differences which may perhaps best be summarized by the statement that the Hidatsa enjoy a far richer culture than their western congeners. Economically, they were not merely buffalo-hunters but also hoe-agriculturists and in connection with this feature they inhabited, for part of the year, settled villages of earth-lodges. They were (and to some extent still are) conversant with the arts of pottery, basketry, and matting, and cross the Missouri in the oft-described bull-boats, all of which features are unknown to the Crow. Ceremonially, the Hidatsa have an abundance of rituals associated with sacred bundles, to which there is likewise no parallel among the Crow. Finally, while the published mythological material from the Hidatsa is not adequate for a thorough-going comparison, it is surprising how often a Crow narrator gives to his tales an Hidatsa setting, the implication being that at least some of these stories were borrowed bodily from the Hidatsa stock of tales. That such transfer occurred in the case of certain dances and organizations is an historical fact. We may assume that much of the relative complexity of Hidatsa life is due directly to Mandan influence or at least indirectly to the stimulation received by contact with them, though we cannot trace in detail what was borrowed and what was transmitted as a result of this intercourse. The culture of the Hidatsa differs from that of the Crow not merely by the greater number and elaboration of discrete features but also in a marked trait of their social psychology,— the tendency towards rationalization and systematization. The Crow child, for example, seems to have grown up largely without formal instruction. Even on so vital a matter as the securing of supernatural favor, the adolescent Crow was not urged by his elders but came more or less automatically to imitate his associates: others had obtained benefits through visions, hence he also would retire into solitude in expectation of a revelation. With the Hidatsa everything seems to have been ordered and pre-arranged by parental guidance: the father repeatedly admonished his sons to make appropriate offerings and obtain the requisite ceremonial articles, at the same time giving them specific instructions. The desire to account for cultural phenomena is likewise very much more highly developed among the Hidatsa. Though the tales accounting for the origin of the exoteric military organiza-

tions certainly do not show Hidatsa speculation at its best, they contrast favorably with the bald statements or total lack of statement by the Crow. In accounting for their sacred rituals the Hidatsa, like the Blackfoot, largely draw on folk-tales for the incidents supposed to have led to the institution of their ceremonials. Nothing comparable was observed among the Crow: the origin of the chapters of the Tobacco order, for example, is associated with specific visions but not with a definite plot. It does not matter whether we assume that the Hidatsa tales were evolved in order to account for their rituals or were secondarily utilized for that purpose: in either case a distinctive trait must be recognized. They must be acknowledged to reveal, at least in this department of thought, either a superior degree of inventiveness or a superior capacity for coördinating and synthetizing disparate elements of their culture.

Associated with this tendency to rationalize and systematize there is naturally far greater rigidity, much less variability in individual interpretation and conception. The names of the Crow clans, for instance, have clearly changed considerably in the course of time;[1] those of the Hidatsa appear to have been immutable, there being no suggestion of other designations than those listed above and already recorded by Morgan. Versions of Crow myths sometimes differ as widely as if they were collected among distinct tribes. Among the Hidatsa I think there is far more conformity to type, and though my experience in taking down their stories in the original is very limited I received the impression that even in the phraseology employed there was a markedly greater tendency to preserve a traditional form. This seems to me to hold quite generally. If one inquires whether Old-Man-Coyote and the Sun are identical or whether Old-Woman's Grandchild was ever addressed in prayer, one receives diametrically contradictory replies from equally trustworthy Crow natives, which is hardly likely to occur in parallel Hidatsa instances. Even in the application of kinship nomenclature, where a certain fluidity is probably universally found, the Hidatsa are more consistent than the Crow, as may be shown by comparing the applications of the grandchild term and the designations of the mother's mother's brother. It is true that my personal acquaintance with the Crow is much more intimate than with the Hidatsa and that any expression of opinion on the latter must be weighted accordingly. Nevertheless an impression of contrast so definite and apparently so abundantly supported by concrete facts can hardly be without an appreciable element of justification.

To turn now to a comparison of social organization and customs. The

[1] Lowie, (c), 190 et seq.

fact that the Hidatsa and Crow clans do not coincide in name is hardly surprising in view of the constant change of designation among the Crow in historical times. What is more important for our purpose is the complete coincidence of the clan concept. This appears in the proper light only when we consider certain facts of distribution and some correlated phenomena.

In the first place, we should note that, apart from the Mandan (whom we may ignore for the present on account of inadequate information), the Crow and Hidatsa are for a radius of hundreds of miles the only tribes having exogamous divisions with maternal descent. Eastward the Wyandot and Iroquois, southward the Navajo and Hopi, westward the Tsimshian and Haida are the nearest peoples divided into mother-kins. The clans of the Hidatsa and Crow differ from other clans, first of all, in type of name, which is almost uniformly non-totemic and among the Crow belongs clearly to the nickname order. Secondly, they differ from those of the Eastern and Northwestern tribes in wholly lacking sets of honorific individual names. Thirdly, they are not connected with crest privileges of the North Pacific Coast type nor Hopi-fashion with any ceremonial duties or prerogatives. In short, beyond those traits involved in the definition of an exogamous mother-kin the Crow and Hidatsa clans share no traits whatsoever with the clans of the other tribes.

The contrast is still more striking when correlated traits are compared. The avunculate is highly developed among the North Pacific Coast tribes and the Hopi but no trace of it appears among the Hidatsa and Crow, nor do we find the women prominent in political activity as among the Iroquois. On the other hand, the Crow and Hidatsa share a conception of the relations with the father's clan which to my knowledge is unique. Some of the relevant traits have parallels elsewhere; but so far as I know, no other tribe has developed the notion to such an extent as both the Crow and Hidatsa that the father's clans-folk are preëminently the people to receive gifts; none defines the joking-relationship through paternal clan connections; and nowhere else are nicknames derived not for one's own actions but from those of a father's clansman. Finally, we must mention in this connection certain significant resemblances in kinship nomenclature. Unlike probably all other North American tribes, there is no uncle term in either language, the mother's brother being classed with the brother. Associated with this classification within the mother-kin we find a characteristic designation of cross-cousins, the maternal uncle's children being placed in the first descending and the paternal aunt's in the first ascending generation. The application of a single term to the paternal aunt and *all* her female descendants through females, regardless of generation, proves to my mind

that we are here dealing with a clan phenomenon; especially since various Siouan tribes with paternal descent show a characteristic difference intelligible only by the different rule of descent. It is true that the cross-cousins and the female descendants of the paternal aunt are designated by the Hopi in the Crow-Hidatsa fashion; whence the argument might be advanced that the Crow and Hidatsa independently of each other evolved a terminology reflecting their clan system. But when we consider that this by no means common feature is associated in Crow and Hidatsa terminology with an (except for a trace among the Blackfoot) unique mode of classifying the mother's brother, not to speak of other specific similarities, the suggestion of independent origin for the relationship features in question becomes absurd in the light of known tribal relations. Negatively, the non-recognition of the commonly designated relationship of nephew or niece must be considered historically significant.

To sum up the matter of the Crow and Hidatsa clans. There can be no doubt that we are dealing with a unique clan concept developed by the parent tribe, which concept has persisted with various adherent features in both branches and both by its positive and negative traits and correlates stands out in contrast to all other comparable clan systems. This, of course, does not mean that no differences have developed since the separation but simply that they are subordinate from the broader historical point of view. From other angles of vision two Hidatsa peculiarities are, indeed, noteworthy. First, we find that the funeral proceedings are conducted by the father's clan, which recalls the customs of remote tribes. Secondly, attention must be directed to the purchase of important ceremonial prerogatives from the real father. This shows clearly how not only the father's group but the father himself may be of great importance in a matrilineally organized society.

Turning to the larger social units, we find no trace of the dual division among the Crow while the loose and colorless phratries of the latter do not occur in Hidatsa society. I conclude that both types of unit developed since the separation from the parent tribe, being of more recent date than the clan system. I have suggested that the dual division was not borrowed by the Hidatsa from the Mandan but *vice versa;* however, this is a purely tentative assumption.

With regard to the various social customs described in the course of this paper, no exhaustive summary of significant points is possible. This is due partly to the wide distribution of these features, partly to the lack of data for many of the tribes that must be considered in a survey of this kind. For example, the Crow and Hidatsa share the levirate and the form of polygamous marriage with sisters, but these are so common in North America that no special importance can be attached to the coincidence.

To a certain extent this applies also to the parent-in-law taboo. While by no means universal, it is shared by such remote North American peoples as the Cree and the Navajo, and close resemblance of details must be looked for in support of historical conclusions. Yet even the similarities of this sort are often so distributed as to defeat specific results. For example, the Crow and Hidatsa both permit a removal of the taboo after bringing of a scalp or the presentation of a gift; and in both tribes the very names of the persons embraced in the taboo, and even the words composing them, were avoided. But the removal of the restriction in the manner stated is also shared by the Mandan, Assiniboin, Arapaho, Cree, and Blackfoot; and the name taboo is found among the Dakota and Assiniboin.

Without any pretence to completeness but merely in the hope of securing additional statements from fellow-students I append my notes on the distribution of the mother-in-law taboo. It occurs among the Tlingit and Haida;[1] Cree, Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Sarsi, and Gros Ventre;[2] Lemhi Shoshoni, Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan;[3] Dakota, Ponca, and Omaha;[4] Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa;[5] Navajo and Apache;[6] Tübatulabal, Western (not Eastern) Mono, Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo and presumably Southern Wintun[7]; Creek and Alibamu.[8] A trace of the taboo — bashfulness about facing each other without the rule against conversation — has been recorded for the Beaver.[9] The mother-in-law taboo is known to be lacking among the Kwakiutl and Nootka;[10] the Arikara (p. 48) and Pawnee;[11] Ojibway;[12] Zuñi and Hopi;[13] Comanche, Wind River Shoshoni, Ute, Paviotso, and Paiute;[14] Yurok, Yuki, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, and Mohave.[15]

On the other hand, there are cases where absence of information is probably due to the recorder's neglect. Thus, very little is known as to the range of the taboo between father-in-law and daughter-in-law. It is probably everywhere weaker than the mother-in-law taboo, yet its re-

[1] Swanton, 424; *id.* personal information.
[2] Kane, 393; Lowie, (b), 41; Wissler, (a), 12; Kroeber, (b), 180.
[3] Lowie, (a), 211; Lowie, (c), 213; Maximilian, II, 132.
[4] Riggs, 204; J. O. Dorsey, 262f.
[5] Kroeber, (a), 9; information by Crow Indians; Methvin, 163 f.
[6] Goddard, (a), 162.
[7] Personal communication by Mr. E. W. Gifford; Kroeber, (d), 383.
[8] Personal communication by Doctor John R. Swanton.
[9] Goddard, (b), 222.
[10] Personal communication by Doctor E. Sapir.
[11] James, I, 262 f.
[12] Tanner, 146, but the name of the son-in-law was tabooed; Kohl, 273 ff.
[13] Doctor A. L. Kroeber's and the writer's field notes.
[14] Writer's notes.
[15] Kroeber, (d), 383.

corded occurrence among the Dakota,[1] Assiniboin,[2] Kiowa,[3] Arapaho,[4] and Omaha[5] suggests a continuous distribution with connecting links as yet unnoted.[6] We have positive information that no such rule of avoidance existed among the Crow (p. 73) and the Blackfoot,[7] but even for the Hidatsa I can make no such positive statement.

Another case in point is the young man's practice of sneaking to a lodge of a night and touching a girl's body.[8] It was in vogue among the Oglala Dakota and Assiniboin,[9] but for all we know it may have been a general custom of the Plains region. Yet of the northern tribes the Oglala and Crow alone share so significant a trait as the licensed kidnapping of each other's wives by rival organizations,[10] so that the other parallel may very well turn out to be a reflection of their intimate contact.

Teknonymy, i. e., the designation of a person as So-and-so's father, grandfather, etc., is an equally tantalizing usage. Crow and Hidatsa both use it in the designation of spouses (p. 34), but a similar practice has been noted for the Tlingit[11] while with the Zuñi and Hopi[12] it attains a prevalence probably unsurpassed anywhere in the world. Does the Crow-Hidatsa custom represent a feature independently evolved by the parent tribe or are we dealing with a trait that has a much wider range than at present appears and which, for all we know, may have been borrowed by Hidatsa and Crow from different directions since their separation? The data for a solution must come from field-workers.

Another custom shared by the Crow and Hidatsa (p. 50) yet hardly to be considered of specific significance in the light of present knowledge is the close friendship between two male comrades. It is very highly developed among the Dakota,[13] Blackfoot,[14] and Cheyenne,[15] and even turns up in the Woodland area.[16]

Probably most, if not all, North American aborigines have some super-

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[1] Riggs, 204.
[2] Lowie, (b), 41.
[3] Writer's field notes.
[4] Kroeber, (a), 9.
[5] Fletcher and La Flesche, 334.
[6] At least traces of the custom are recorded for the Beaver, Goddard, (b), 222; and Dr. Goddard tells me that similar bashfulness obtains among the Hupa.
[7] Wissler, (a), 13.
[8] Lowie, (c), 221 f.
[9] Wissler, (b), 77; Kurz, 110, 152.
[10] Lowie, (f), 903.
[11] Krause, 217.
[12] Kroeber, (c), 72; the writer's field notes.
[13] Riggs, 196.
[14] Wissler, (a), 16.
[15] Mooney, 416.
[16] Skinner, (b), 34.

stitious notions connected with menstruation, but the segregation of women during the menses is not nearly so common. We have positive statements as to the absence of the menstrual hut among the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre,[1] Crow,[2] and Arapaho,[3] and its existence was not recorded for the Hidatsa. However, the hut is found among the Dakota and Assiniboin,[4] the Omaha and Ponca.[5] Outside the Plains region the seclusion of girls at puberty is widespread. We find it, for example, among the Tlingit, Nootka, and Chinook;[6] Hupa and Shasta;[7] Pima;[8] Tahltan and Chipewyan;[9] Thompson River Indians and Nez Percé;[10] Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Paviotso and Ute;[11] Northern Saulteaux and Menomini;[12] Creek and Yuchi.[13] The range of the custom suggests that its absence may have historical significance.

The curious bashfulness of an adult brother and sister in each other's presence is common to the Crow and Hidatsa (p. 38). Restrictions on social intercourse between *Geschwister* of opposite sex are found in Melanesia,[14] but the only other recorded North American case I know of is that of the Arapaho.[15] This seems to be a matter on which few field-workers have made specific inquiries; a positive or negative report on this point will henceforth be highly desirable. The Yana rule that brother and sister must not address each other in the singular may turn out to belong to the same type of taboo.[16]

A particularly friendly relationship between brothers-in-law occurs among the Hidatsa and Crow. I am under the impression that this is by no means peculiar to them and have myself recorded a similar sentiment on the Wind River Shoshoni Reservation, but cannot at present place my finger on specific references for other peoples. In connection with the brother-in-law sentiment there is, however, one exceedingly suggestive detail. The Crow do not permit personal references of an obscene character in a brother-

[1] Wissler, (a), 29; Kroeber, (b), 181.
[2] Lowie, (c), 220.
[3] Kroeber, (a), 15.
[4] Lowie, (b), 39.
[5] J. O. Dorsey, 267.
[6] Swanton, 428; Sapir, (a), 67 ff; Boas, 246.
[7] Goddard, (c), 56; Dixon, 420, 457.
[8] Russell, 183.
[9] Emmons, 104; Hearne, 313.
[10] Teit, 312; Spinden, 198.
[11] Lowie, (a), 214, and field notes; Hopkins, 48; writer's field notes. Among the Southern Paiute there was the typical food taboo but I got no evidence of a special hut.
[12] Skinner, (a), 152; (b), 52. This writer also ascribes the custom to the Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Winnebago, and Ottawa.
[13] Speck, (a), 1909; (b), 96.
[14] Speiser, 217.
[15] Kroeber, (a), 11.
[16] Sapir, (b), 95.

in-law's presence, the offender being punished with a blow.[1] This agrees exactly with the Arapaho conception of this relationship[2] and a close parallel (without the feature of the blow) has been noted for the Blackfoot.[3]

Another feature common to the Crow (p. 80), Arapaho[4] and Blackfoot[5] is the licensed familiarity between a brother-in-law and sister-in-law. It is also shared by the Hidatsa (p. 49), and occurs in the Woodland area.[6]

I cannot resist the temptation of calling attention to the common possession of a combination of sociological features by the Crow, Hidatsa, Arapaho, and Blackfoot. An examination of the age-societies of the Plains Indians led me to the conclusion that the Hidatsa must have been in contact, on the one hand, with the Arapaho and on the other with the Blackfoot.[7] We now find that the lack of a menstrual hut and the licensed familiarity between brother and sister-in-law are common to all four, while the brother-sister bashfulness is recorded for all but the Blackfoot, and the obscenity taboo between brothers-in-law holds for all except the Hidatsa. Since no direct historical connection existed between the Crow and Arapaho, the unique coincidence in the details of the last-mentioned trait permits the inference that it is one formerly shared by the Hidatsa. It should further be noted that each of the four features here considered (with the possible exception of the relations between brother and sister-in-law) is highly specific and relatively rare so far as our records go. For this reason I cannot regard the combination of resemblances as the result of chance, and interpret it as the effect of historical contact between the Hidatsa and Arapaho. The Blackfoot analogies do not seem to me to require the same sort of relationship; since the known Blackfoot-Crow relations suffice to account for the transmission of the relevant features.

Supreme contempt for the exhibition of jealousy is shown by the Crow and Hidatsa (pp. 86, 45), but I rather expect that more painstaking search will unearth other instances.

Finally, some attention must be devoted to the joking-relationship. Doctor Rivers found it in the Banks Islands, where relatives by marriage, and particularly the father's sister's husband, are subject to the practice.[8] The Hidatsa and the Crow, to my knowledge, are the only people in the world who regard the offspring of male members of the same clan as "chaf-

[1] Lowie, (c), 214.
[2] Kroeber, (a), 11.
[3] Wissler, (a), 12.
[4] Kroeber, (a), 11.
[5] Wissler, (a), 12.
[6] Skinner, (c), 281.
[7] Lowie, (f), 946–954.
[8] Rivers, I, 40, 45 ff.

fers," and the hair-cutting custom associated with the joking-relationship seems likewise peculiar to them. On the other hand, joking of some sort exists between quite different relatives elsewhere. In the field I learned that a Hopi will play tricks on his wife's brother's son, who returns the treatment in kind after reaching maturity. According to a personal communication from Doctor Radin the Winnebago have the joking-relationship between maternal uncle and nephew. Mr. Amos One-road, an educated Dakota, described the chaffing of his tribe as taking place between brothers-in-law, each belittling the other's achievements in war and the chase.

Here a word of caution is necessary. We must recognize that customs distinct both psychologically and historically may be labeled by the catch-word "joking-relationship." This term, as we have seen (pp. 42, 49) might be extended to the mutual relations of Crow and Hidatsa brothers-in-law and also to those of a brother and sister-in-law. It is, however, clear that the *i'watkuce'—makútsati* usage is something different and cannot, accordingly, be equated with an *alicu* practice of chaffing either, unless characteristic features reappear. Thus, the Dakota "joking-relationship" is evidently homologous not with what I have called by that term among the Crow and Hidatsa but with the brother-in-law chaffing of these people. Similarly, the usage that figures so prominently in certain Menomini folk-tales is the parallel of the brother and sister-in-law license not of the *i' watkuce'* practice. It hardly requires the statement that privileged familiarity between persons of opposite sex *must* have a different psychological import from such liberties between people of the same sex or of either sex without preference.

In conclusion a few words may be said on the study of social customs. While ample attention has been granted to the social organization of primitive tribes, usages of the type here dealt with have often been reported as though they were mere oddities. A brief consideration of some of the facts cited suffices to show their extraordinary theoretical value. In the Southwest the Apache and Navajo have the mother-in-law taboo but the Hopi and Zuñi lack it. Surrounded by tribes practising this custom, the Pawnee and Arikara, both of Caddoan stock, differ from their neighbors by its absence. Of the Shoshonean Plateau and Basin tribes it is found only among the Northern Shoshoni, who have had much contact with the Crow and Blackfoot. Practically all the Plateau Shoshoneans share the same menstrual customs. The recurrence of the Crow brother-in-law prudery in Arapaho society proves an indirect historical relation and prompts the search for intervening links.

Reverting to the Crow and Hidatsa, we have here two tribes distinct from all other Siouans by virtue of their close linguistic affinity. In many

respects their cultures have differentiated far more than might be expected on the basis of this peculiarly intimate relationship. Yet both social organization and social customs preserve evidence of the unique connection between them, and I should say that this applies rather to the latter than the former. Were it not for the isolation of the Crow-Hidatsa mother-kins (always disregarding the Mandan) from tribes with like units, their common possession of a clan system would not be particularly impressive. It is the correlated social usages, such as the treatment accorded to the father's clan, and the absence of traits correlated with clans of other tribes, such as the avunculate, that give point to the comparison. The derivation of nicknames from actions of the father's clansmen and the *i' watkuce'* custom show that unique historical relations are expressed in the parallelism of unique social usages. From this point of view the less conspicuous features of primitive social life acquire a novel significance: they are likely to be sign-posts of historical connection where other divisions of culture yield no evidence. What is more, in the case of widespread customs it is the most trifling details that are historically most significant. It is the blow feature that convinces us of community of origin in the case of the brother-in-law prudery of the Crow and Arapaho. Hence a mere statement as to the presence or absence of these customs, while valuable enough, is not sufficient; on all such points we require the greatest possible wealth of concrete information. It is in the hope of stimulating field-workers to obtain such data that I have ventured to offer the comparative notes of this chapter.

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